

**"ALL THAT GLITTERS"**  
**THE ALL GOLDS**  
**AND THE ADVENT OF**  
**RUGBY LEAGUE IN AUSTRALASIA.**

---

**A thesis**  
**submitted in partial fulfilment**  
**of the requirements for the Degree**  
**of**  
**Master of Arts in History**  
**in the**  
**University of Canterbury**  
**by**  
**Jo Smith**

This thesis is dedicated  
to Mum & Dad

---

**University of Canterbury**  
**1998**

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF PLATES	ii
LIST OF TABLES	iii
ABBREVIATIONS	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
PREFACE	v
ABSTRACT	vii
CHAPTER:	
I    A WORKING-CLASS GAME: ORIGINS OF RUGBY LEAGUE IN ENGLAND	1
II   AN ENTREPRENEURIAL VENTURE: GENESIS OF THE ALL GOLDS	21
III  A WORKING-CLASS REVOLT: IMPACT OF THE ALL GOLDS IN AUSTRALIA	49
IV   CLASH OF THE CODES: THE ALL GOLDS IN BRITAIN	67
V    THE ALL GOLDS RETURN: FOUNDATIONS OF RUGBY LEAGUE IN AUSTRALASIA	99
CONCLUSION	125
APPENDICES	128
BIBLIOGRAPHY	154

## LIST OF PLATES

<b>PLATES</b>	<b>After page:</b>
Plate 1.     Albert Henry Baskiville.	21
Plate 2.     The New Zealand Professional Rugby Team in Sydney.	63
Plate 3.     The New Zealand Professional Football Team 1907.	67
Plate 4.     The 'All Blacks' Autographs.	67
Plate 5.     The New Zealand Footballers.	68
Plate 6.     'All Blacks' First Practice at Headingley.	71
Plate 7.     Follow Up The Kick For 'On Side'.	71
Plate 8.     The New Zealand Footballers.	71
Plate 9.     A Group At Leeds.	71
Plate 10.    The 'All Blacks' Chanting Their War Cry At Huddersfield.	74
Plate 11.    The 'All Blacks' Win At Huddersfield.	74
Plate 12.    New Zealand's Struggle At Oldham.	78
Plate 13.    Red Rose Better Than All Black.	80
Plate 14.    New Zealand Lost The First Test.	81
Plate 15.    New Game Of Football, Auckland v. Wellington.	113
Plate 16.    Sketch Of The Northern Union Cup.	122
Plate 17.    English Northern Union Footballers.	122

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
Table 1.	Comparison Of Occupations.	32
Table 2.	Choice Of Players Ranked By Skill; & Number Of Games Played.	85
Table 3.	Number Of Games Played.	86
Table 4.	Ages Of Players.	87

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AN</i>	<i>Athletic News</i>
<i>EP</i>	<i>Evening Post</i>
ERU	English Rugby Union
<i>LYM</i>	<i>Leeds Yorkshire Mercury</i>
<i>LRRLA</i>	<i>Lion Red Rugby League Annual</i>
<i>MG</i>	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>
NSWRU	New South Wales Rugby Union
NSWRFL	New South Wales Rugby Football League
<i>NZH</i>	<i>New Zealand Herald</i>
NZRU	New Zealand Rugby Union
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
<i>WG&amp;NZM</i>	<i>The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail</i>
<i>YP</i>	<i>Yorkshire Post</i>



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Chris Connolly, whose helpful suggestions have greatly assisted me in writing this thesis.

To Geoff Vincent, my sincerest thanks for his unceasing encouragement and faith in my ability to get this thesis finished.

I wish to thank Len Richardson for lending me his extensive newspaper archives, which have been of tremendous help to me, and for his suggestion of this topic for research. I am also grateful to John Haynes and Bernard Wood for their time, knowledge and sources. My thanks also to Greg Ryan, and Vaughan Woods for their help. And to Dr. Orange for his encouragement and lunches.

I also wish to thank the staff at the Hocken Library for their assistance, especially Mary Lewis for her help; the staff at the Alexander Turnbull Library; and those of the MacMillan Brown Library at the University of Canterbury.

Finally I would like to thank my Mum for her super-human efforts at editing, my family for their constant encouragement, love and advice, and my friends for their repeated attempts to keep me sane (has it worked yet?!).

## PREFACE

The New Zealand 'All Golds' Rugby League tour to England and Australia took place between August 1907 and June 1908. They were rugby players who went to play the Northern Union game (Rugby League). Their knowledge of this game was based on the rule book, which they studied on their way to England.

This thesis examines the origins of the tour and its significance for the foundation of Rugby League in Australia and New Zealand. It places the tour within the context of the foundation of Rugby League in Britain, and within the context of contemporary controversy about the 'games ethic' and professionalism. It examines the period 1907 – 1910, and looks at the nature of the different societies in England, Australia and New Zealand relative to the specific games of Rugby and Rugby League. It is concerned with and compares the way Rugby League developed in these countries. It reveals that Rugby League in New Zealand had origins which were vastly different from those in Britain and Australia, and the main reason for this difference was the way society had developed in this small country.

Rugby League during this period was called Northern Union. Throughout this thesis I have used both terms, selecting the one that seems most appropriate within the context. References from the time refer to the team as the 'All Blacks' or the 'professional All Blacks'. In my text I have called them the 'All Golds' to avoid confusion with the 1905 All Blacks. Although this term was initially meant as a derogatory comment, I have used it, as I feel it is an appropriate historical tag which no longer holds any disparaging over-tones. It also serves to highlight the first Rugby League team in New Zealand's sporting history.

Primary sources used for this thesis include articles written by Baskiville himself, as well as extensive newspaper reports. There is little writing available that covers the early history of Rugby League in New Zealand during this period. This is why the bulk of primary research comes from newspaper sources. As a result, this thesis bridges a gap in the historiography of Rugby League in New Zealand. The New Zealand Rugby Union was

approached in order to access any records that could have assisted this research. However, it claimed not to possess any records on this period, although other scholars say they have sighted them.

It was through following specific family connections while tracing the origins of A.H. Baskiville, that I discovered a book was about to be published by John Haynes, which also covers the scope of my thesis. I believe this thesis is complementary to John's book, as it focuses more on the factors behind the tour and the circumstances surrounding it. The thesis is also wider in scope, covering the foundations of Rugby League in Australia as well as in New Zealand.

## ABSTRACT

The origins of Rugby League date back to 1895 in England, when 22 northern rugby clubs broke away from the English Rugby Union to form the Northern Rugby Football Union. The split in the rugby codes came about over the issue of paying players 'broken-time' – paying a man's lost wages for the time he took off work to play rugby.

Twelve years later, the Northern Union's sporting isolation was broken by the advent of a touring team from New Zealand. This team, dubbed the 'All Golds' by the Sydney press, undertook a tour to the North of England as an entrepreneurial tour organized by Albert Henry Baskerville, a postal worker from Wellington. These pioneers risked, not only losing their friends and careers, but also their footballing futures, for playing the Northern Union game 'professionalized' these men in the eyes of the Rugby Union. They were excommunicated from the Rugby Union fraternity, never to be allowed to play the rugby game again.

The New Zealand team's visit to Australia on its way to England was the catalyst for the foundation of Rugby League in Australia. Conditions in Australia were ripe for the rapid success of the game. The factors determining this were related to the working-class perspective of many clubs and to dissatisfaction with the way the Rugby Union ran its affairs. In New Zealand, by contrast, there were fewer overwhelmingly working-class clubs and fewer grievances. The 'All Golds' tour was an entrepreneurial adventure which attracted the support of more middle-class players than working-class ones, and it did not promote a massive, club-based revolt against the New Zealand Rugby Union. So the game developed only slowly, with newly formed clubs struggling to attract individual players from the traditional game, which still retained significant working-class support. Rugby League was a working-class game, but its conquest of the New Zealand working-class was far from complete.

## CHAPTER 1.

### **A WORKING-CLASS GAME: ORIGINS OF RUGBY LEAGUE IN ENGLAND.**

The roots of Rugby League date back to 1895 in England when 22 clubs from the northern counties decided to form the Northern Rugby Football Union (Northern Union). The reasons this split in rugby occurred, are tied up with the different attitudes towards sport and professionalism that existed between the southern gentlemen of rugby (ex-public school boys), and the northern industrial men who were used to the work ethic rather than an amateur sport ethic. These different social and ideological viewpoints created tensions that built up and eventually led to a split in both ideology and practice. Following the defeat in 1893 of a proposal to allow broken-time payments, it was only a matter of time until this split occurred in 1895.

The amateur ethos that underpinned the southern attitude towards sport was learned at public schools. These élite institutions espoused the attitudes of upper class gentlemen, which were then diffused around sports clubs wherever ex-public school boys played. Sport was seen as an ideal way to instil into boys the strict rules and conduct of being gentlemen. Sport was to be played fairly and honestly for fun. Teamwork, co-operation, and self sacrifice would be learned as a result, which would help build character. This character building aspect of the ethos saw courage, honesty, gentlemanly behaviour, loyalty, and modesty as traits all esteemed worthy of a gentleman. Because the game itself was to be played for pleasure and the company it afforded, training was not seen as important. So while competitiveness was crucial, victory was not. In fact, self restraint in both victory and defeat was considered the ideal behaviour for players. Money and rewards were definitely rejected. Sport was to be played for pleasure, not turned into work by training and specialization.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*, (Wellington 1979), p.153-5; James W Martens, "Rugby, Class, Amateurism and Manliness: The Case of Rugby in Northern England, 1871-1895", in Nauright & Chandler (eds), *Making Men. Rugby and Masculine Identity*, (London 1996), p.32-3; Kent Pearson, "Meanings and Motivation in Sport", in J. Hinchcliff, *The Nature and Meaning of Sport in New*

This public school amateur ethos was a tenet which only the affluent could afford as they were in the position of having both the leisure time and the money to be able to play games. However, in the North of England rugby was played by an increasing number of working-class men. These miners, mill hands, foundry workers and tradesmen, who could earn as little as 15/- a week, could ill afford to lose half a day's pay in order to take the time to play football. The difficulties working class players faced were pointed out by the President of the Yorkshire Rugby Union, J.A. Miller, when he said:

under present circumstances workingman players were at a great disadvantage, especially those players who were selected to take part in [matches away from home]. Those men were absent from home for 3 working days [depending on how far they had to travel] and they forfeited remuneration as much as out-of-pocket expenses for rail fares and hotel bills. Was it right, was it fair, or reasonable that they should have to submit to a loss which the men with yearly salaries had not to face? <sup>2</sup>

The northern rugby clubs were run by men of the industrial and commercial middle-classes, and as a result the administrative structure of clubs were run along factory lines. Because most of these men were not public school educated their commitment to the amateur ethos was slight. These northern administrators had close contact with, and maintained their links to the working-class. They would support the local clubs, mixing and playing with the local players. Success and competition were the realities of working life in the North. So these, along with northern attitudes towards masculine identity, came to permeate the game as the ideals of success and competition in the workplace were transferred to the playing arena. The experience of hard work lent itself to a greater tolerance of rough play. Club officials were willing to pay players in order to keep them and their team strong, and many working-class players were able to play only because they were being paid. As strong community ties developed, clubs became the focus for community identity and pride. As a result, rivalry between the different towns and villages became more pronounced. Changes and experimentation in tactics produced more entertaining play which in turn attracted larger

---

*Zealand*, (Auckland 1978), p.9; G.T.Vincent, "'Practical Imperialism'. The Anglo-Welsh Rugby Tour of New Zealand, 1908", *M.A. Thesis*, (University of Canterbury, 1996), p.4-6; Gareth Williams, "How Amateur Was My Valley: Professional Sport and National Identity in Wales 1890-1914", *The British Journal of Sports History*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (December 1985), p.248.

<sup>2</sup> Trevor R. Delaney, *The Roots of Rugby League*, (Great Britain 1984), p.23.

gates. As crowd numbers grew, so too did the introduction of leagues. Challenge Cup competitions were created during the late 1870s and early 1880s, and these helped to encourage the keen desire for competition and winning that was becoming characteristic of northern rugby. The increasing popularity that generated large gates produced money that was in turn put back into the game, not only in the form of improved grounds, but also as illicit payment to working-class players who could not afford time off work to play. Rugby in the North was incorporating northern values and reflecting northern attitudes which were totally alien to those cherished by the public school educated southern gentlemen.<sup>3</sup>

The Yorkshire Cup was first contested in 1877. 'T' owd Tin Pot' became the focus for all ambitious clubs as it generated money and kudos for them. It also created a series of disputes over results, referees and eligibility of players, because ambitious junior clubs saw it as a way to gain a better place on the fixture list. Enormous crowds attended the Yorkshire Cup-ties and this in turn generated County Cup competitions in Northumberland (1880), Durham (1880) and Cumberland (1882).<sup>4</sup>

But the main feature of the 1880s was the clash between the middle-class ideal of sport for sport's sake and the working-class desire and need to have some kind of monetary recompense. As northern clubs began to assert their influence on the game, they developed into more skilful players than their southern counterparts. Also the northern players' own definitions of manliness had become incorporated into their games ethic. But the appeal of success and prestige, along with the violence of a more physical game, went against the southern amateur attitudes.<sup>5</sup> As Delaney points out,

---

<sup>3</sup> A.J. Arnold, *A Game That Would Pay*, (London 1988), p.9-11; Dunning & Sheard, pp.148-9, 203; Robert Gate, *Rugby League: An Illustrated History*, (London 1989), pp.14, 16, Paul Greenhalgh, "The Work and Play Principle: The Professional Regulations of the Northern Rugby Football Union, 1898-1905", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (December 1992), p.359; Martens, pp 32-3, 35-37, 39-40; G. Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, (Christchurch 1993), p 91, Wray Vamplew, *Pay up and Play the Game*, (Cambridge 1988), p.64; Williams, p.249.

<sup>4</sup> Gate, p 17-18; Vamplew, p 64; Williams, p.249-50.

<sup>5</sup> Martens, pp.39,42.

This amateur ideology was not simply a set of unwritten rules by which the game should be played, it was the response to the fact that it was the working class player who was excelling at the skills and techniques of the game, and providing the 'exhibition' so frowned upon. . . . It was directed at 'bashing the workers' in their leisure time in the same way that the upper classes, with little or no direct contact with the working-man, were doing generally. <sup>6</sup>

Fear of being beaten by their 'social inferiors' was a real threat to the southern rugby establishment. The English Rugby Football Union (RFU) was reluctant to recognize the growth of the game in the North and was unwilling to accommodate players' needs, because it resented the changes taking place. It also ignored the change in tactics that the northern players had developed. These changes would require training, which was not playing for fun, and so would ultimately lead to corruption of the game. Besides, training transformed sport into 'work', which destroyed its very essence. <sup>7</sup>

So those controlling the RFU begin to justify amateurism and push it forward as the goal of rugby. They developed ideas to legitimize rugby as purely amateur, and even attempted to legislate against professionalism. As a consequence, in the North, clubs were forced to cover up payments, with shamateurism being widely practised and condoned by all those involved within the clubs and communities. Back in 1878 the RFU Committee had attacked the spirit of the game in working-class teams, especially their style of play and overt violence. The RFU was still reluctant to allow a Challenge Cup competition as it contradicted the public school ethos. It feared that a Cup would create pressure to train and win, so that the game would become serious, and ungentlemanly. Cups and leagues were seen as leading to both competition and professionalism, which in turn would lead to a deterioration in sportsmanship, along with the loss of social tone. <sup>8</sup>

In 1886 the RFU legislated against profiting from the game by outlawing broken-time payment and testimonials, with expulsion from the sport as the punishment for anyone found to have profited materially from the game. In 1888 stringent rules were introduced governing

---

<sup>6</sup> Delaney, p 20.

<sup>7</sup> Dunning & Sheard, pp.146, 148, 155; Martens, pp.35, 39-40; Vamplew, pp.196, 198

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, pp.196, 198; Dunning & Sheard, pp 146, 155; Martens, pp.33, 35,37, 39-40, 42.



the transfer of players between clubs, and by 1891 these requirements had been codified and enshrined in the Union's by-laws.<sup>9</sup> Southerners had no understanding of why members of northern clubs could not afford time out to play without compensation. Arthur Budd, RFU President 1888-89, was heard to reply,

The answer then to those who urge that the working man ought to be compensated for the loss of time incurred by his recreation is that if he cannot afford the leisure to play the game, he must do without it.<sup>10</sup>

But increasing demands for a properly organized competition amongst its clubs forced the RFU to concede partial defeat in 1889 and establish the County Cup Championship, even though it disapproved thoroughly of the prospect of a nation-wide cup or league competition with its 'violence, foul play and cheating'. Lancashire and Yorkshire Senior League Competitions were formed in the 1892-93 season, with most of the top clubs joining. The performance of the southern based teams at this time showed up the superior skills of the northern teams. During the eight years leading up to the 1895 split, Lancashire won the competition in 1891, while Yorkshire won all the others, and northern clubs made up almost half the total membership of the RFU.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the central issues of the split in 1895 were between amateurism and professionalism, and the growing tensions between the southern controllers of the RFU and the northern players and clubs who desired some control over the game. The northern clubs attempted to force the RFU to legitimize broken-time payments. The Committee of the Yorkshire Rugby Union called for a General Meeting of the RFU, and forwarded details so that the Committee could discuss them. At the general meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, on 20 September 1893, the Yorkshire Rugby Union president J.A. Miller presented the RFU with a motion to recognize broken-time: 'That players be allowed compensation for bona-fide loss of time'. This motion was seeking permission to do openly what had been going on undercover for years. In fact, even Frank Marshall, staunchly

---

<sup>9</sup> Dunning & Sheard, p.150; Martens, p 42.

<sup>10</sup> Delaney, p 20; Williams, p.251.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p.249-50; Gate, p.17-18; Martens, pp.40,42; Vamplew, p.64.

amateur zealot that he was, admitted (at a later date) that there was merit to the argument in favour of broken-time:

How is it possible for a workingman, with a wage of from 15 and 25 shillings a week, perhaps with a wife and children to support, to play football unless he is compensated for loss of time? It is manifestly clear that the wage lost on Saturday morning is an appreciable factor in the provision for the week's expenses, and that the man can ill afford to lose the amount, small though it may be in actual cash. There can be no getting over this argument. It is clear and irrefutable.<sup>12</sup>

Rowland Hill, Honorary Secretary of the RFU, countered Miller's motion with the following proposal: 'That this meeting, believing that the above principle is contrary to the true interest of the game and its spirit, declines to sanction the same'. The big mistake the northern men had made was informing the Establishment of what they were planning. It meant that those working for the cause of amateurism had been given ample time to warn their fellow amateurs of the impending threat to their beloved amateur ethos. They had formed an unofficial lobby to drum up support: a circular was drafted and forwarded to sympathetic clubs appealing for support; and H.E. Steed was directed to obtain proxy votes from those clubs known to be opposed to broken-time but who could not send representatives to the meeting.<sup>13</sup> As a result of this background work, southern amateur supporters turned out in force to defeat the Yorkshire proposals.<sup>14</sup> They stated that the proposals were 'conducive to creeping professionalism', and should not be supported. Steed had managed to gather 120 proxy votes in order to counter the northern bid, and so the counter-proposal was carried by 282 votes to 136. This defeat only encouraged further shamateurism. The RFU immediately began drafting new draconian rules in order to show it was not prepared to sanction professionalism. These 'Rules as to Professionalism' made *amateurs only* eligible for membership.<sup>15</sup> The 1893 RFU by-law specifically stated:

---

<sup>12</sup> Delaney, p.23.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p.48-9.

<sup>14</sup> (1) Holding the RFU AGM at alternative venues between London and a northern venue; (2) Legitimize broken-time; and (3) Set up leagues.

<sup>15</sup> Arnold, p 12; Dunning & Sheard, p.167; Gate, p 20; Martens, p 43; Vamplew, p.195.

The name of the Society shall be the 'Rugby Football Union' and only clubs composed entirely of amateurs shall be eligible for membership, and its headquarters shall be in London where all general meetings shall be held.<sup>16</sup>

Amateurism had now become the major goal of the RFU. Players or clubs could be deemed 'professional' for receiving a medal without the Union's consent, 'for receiving monetary reward for acting as treasurer/secretary or in any official capacity for a Rugby club or for knowingly playing with or against anyone who had ever been professionalized'. These by-laws were eventually ratified at the RFU AGM on 19 September 1895,<sup>17</sup> whereby the Committee was thanked for its efforts to keep the Rugby Union game, 'Purely and simply for amateurs'. Loud cheering greeted Rowland Hill's statement that

No club or player might play on the ground of a professional club. No professional club might play on the ground of a Rugby Union club. No Rugby Union club might employ as referee or touchjudge a member of a professional club. No member of a Rugby Union club might act as referee or touchjudge in any game in which a professional player takes part.<sup>18</sup>

Even as recently as 1958 the International Rugby Board laid down resolutions specifically stating that

there is in general, no objection to persons who are or have been ranked as professionals in games other than rugby league football being permitted to play rugby union football or to participate in the affairs of rugby union clubs.

In other words, there was still one rule relating to Rugby League and one rule to other sports. For example, 'professional' soccer players could play 'amateur' rugby, but league players could not. There was one exception however, and that was during war time. Those players who fought for their country could be reinstated to rugby union. Indeed some rugby league players in New Zealand were granted this amnesty after the First World War, and they went on to become All Blacks again.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Gate, p.19.

<sup>17</sup> Gate, p.21.

<sup>18</sup> Delaney, p.80.

<sup>19</sup> Ron Palenski, *Our National Game*, (Auckland 1992), p. 108; Players who were granted amnesty in New Zealand, for example, include Harold Owen 'Circus' Hayward, Edward Hughes, and John Clarence Spencer. For further details see Appendix D:2 and Chester & McMillan, *Encyclopedia of New Zealand Rugby*, (Auckland 1981).

Members of the Rugby Union establishment believed in their class superiority and were ignorant of northern social conditions, so they thought that they knew what was best for the game and for all those playing it. Their unwavering belief in the superiority of amateurism was one of the main reasons for the build-up of tensions occurring within Rugby between the North and South.

On 16 January 1895 it was announced in the *Yorkshire Post* that clubs were to produce a petition to create a Northern League independent of the county RFUs, but it was not until a meeting held on 2 April 1895 that a solid proposal to form a league called the 'Lancashire and Yorkshire RFU of Senior Clubs' was announced. They proposed that this new Union should be admitted to membership of the RFU and forwarded the following rules to the County Committees and to London for approval:

(1) The Union shall be called the Lancashire and Yorkshire RFU of Senior Clubs. (2) That the Union shall be a member of the English Rugby Union. (3) That it is governed by one representative from each club. (4) Officials to be elected at the AGM, to be held alternately in Lancashire and Yorkshire. (5) Annual Subscription 1 guinea. (6) Committee of Management to be four per County. (7) Champion club from each County to play for 'Champion of Union'.<sup>20</sup>

The RFU however, forbade the union and rejected the request on 9 May 1895 by passing the following resolution:

This Committee being of the opinion that any such organization as the proposed Union of Yorkshire and Lancashire clubs would be prejudicial to the best interests of the game, forbids the formation of such a Union.<sup>21</sup>

Ongoing problems between the RFU and the northern clubs were further heightened by simmering tensions between the Senior Competition clubs and those in the No. 2 Competition, mainly over promotion and relegation between the competitions. The Yorkshire Rugby Union Committee withdrew the powers of the Yorkshire Senior Competition. In response, the twelve leading clubs<sup>22</sup> resigned from the Yorkshire Rugby

---

<sup>20</sup> Palenski, p.63

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p.64

<sup>22</sup> Bradford, Hunslet, Manningham, Leeds, Huddersfield, Halifax, Liversedge, Hull, Brighouse Rangers, Batley, Dewsbury and Wakefield Trinity.

Union on 29 July 1895. Meetings were held to discuss a Northern Union, as some felt it was the only way to stop professionalism. Some of the clubs favoured separation from the RFU, while others were in favour of the principle of broken-time professionalism. At this stage however, they were not ready to go it alone, and a meeting of the Yorkshire Senior Competition clubs on 19 August 1895, saw the proposal to form a Northern Union defeated.<sup>23</sup>

Only one week later the mood changed. At meetings in Manchester and Leeds on 27 August 1895, delegates of the Lancashire Combination clubs and the Yorkshire Senior Competition clubs were seriously discussing the formation of an independent Northern Union.<sup>24</sup> The Yorkshire clubs passed the following resolution:

The clubs here represented . . . consider that the time is now opportune to form a Northern Rugby Football Union, and will do their utmost to push forward as rapidly as possible the establishment of such a Union.<sup>25</sup>

While some clubs were not totally convinced that this was the right thing to do, they really had no choice. By not joining the proposed Union, they would be isolated, and would then lose fixtures and gates, and be unable to attract top players. To find competitive games they would have to travel further and supporters would lose interest. Joining a Northern Union was simply a matter of survival.<sup>26</sup> Mr. Brierly, Rochdale's Honorary Secretary, remarked, "If the Hornet's joined the Union they would have 42 matches with the best clubs in Lancashire and Yorkshire: if they did not they would only get about 14 matches".<sup>27</sup>

The Lancashire clubs<sup>28</sup> agreed to join. And so, on Thursday, 29 August 1895, at the George Hotel in Huddersfield, twenty-one clubs attended a meeting whereby twenty of those

---

<sup>23</sup> Delaney, p 66-7.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p.67

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p.69.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, pp 68-9, 82-3.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p.68

<sup>28</sup> Oldham, Rochdale, Tyldesley, Leigh, Wigan, St Helens, Broughton Rangers, Warrington and Widnes.

clubs resigned from the RFU, with two other clubs joining them later.<sup>29</sup> They passed the following resolution:

The clubs here represented decided to form a Northern Rugby Football Union, and pledge themselves to push forward without delay its establishment on the principle of payment for bona-fide broken-time only.<sup>30</sup>

This Northern Union created a league structure which would allow broken-time payments, and only allow those who had legitimate jobs to be eligible as players. They felt it was better to pay players legitimately and honestly, rather than to continue with illicit payments. These clubs defected to form the Northern Union in anticipation of the new Rugby Union legislation which they felt to be unworkable. As previously mentioned, the September RFU AGM saw the introduction of strict new regulations to purge the game of professionalism once and for all, even outlawing the acceptance of medals as professionalism.<sup>31</sup>

The RFU's push for amateurism as the major goal of Rugby, blinkered vision and dogged refusal to allow broken-time payments, and its attempt to stamp out professionalism with draconian legislation destroyed the unity of the game. Ultimately it led to the 1895 split, which resulted in the by now very strong northern clubs deciding to form their own union, despite the RFU's forbidding their request that they be allowed to do so. Herbert Fallas, the Wakefield Trinity International of 1884, had this to say about the reasons for the breakaway, and the hostility towards southern rule:

I do not think for one moment that the question of broken-time or the recent action of the smaller clubs in Yorkshire is at the foundation of the 'Split'. I believe firmly that what has taken place is nothing more or less than a revolt against the course pursued by the English R.U. The fact is that the Rugby

---

<sup>29</sup> See footnote #22 and #28 for Yorkshire and Lancashire clubs. At the meeting the Dewsbury representative would not make a firm commitment, having to first consult with his Committee. Dewsbury later declined to join. Stockport, who were not present, were admitted to the new Union on the receipt of a telegram from the club's officials, and at the first meeting of the Northern Union Committee, Runcorn were given the place vacated by Dewsbury. (see Delaney, p.69.)

<sup>30</sup> Gate, p.21.

<sup>31</sup> Sir Derek Birley, *Land of Sport and Glory*, (Manchester & New York 1995), p.47; John Coffey, "Milestones in Rugby League's Evolution", in Bernard Wood (ed), *Lion Red New Zealand Rugby League Annual 1995* (NZRLA), p 30; Martens, p 44-5; Vamplew, p.195; Williams, p.251.

Union is ruled by Southerners, and for years back no position has been given to any name brought forward by Northern clubs. . . .

Now if they wanted to put down professionalism they ought to put it down in all forms, and should have stopped the great amount expended on champagne dinners, which after all is a form of remuneration. Why it is a positive fact that in the experience of a prominent Yorkshire club, when the Southerners were coming North they not only required a guarantee on their share of the gate, but also in some instances have actually written for a copy of the dinner menu, to see that their inner man was to be supplied afterwards! Talk of some of the leading clubs not being able to meet the financial strain of broken-time! Why, one club in Yorkshire alone has paid more for champagne dinners and shilling cigars for Southern gentlemen having their holiday in the North in the shape of tours than would treble pay all that is asked of broken-time.

The question in Yorkshire was not merely one of professionalism. It was simply whether Mr. Hartley, Mr. Gladstone and others were to dictate to the Seniors what clubs they should play, and it was only natural that men with any backbone in them would resent the interference of clubs, having little or no financial responsibility, in the affairs of organizations of much greater pecuniary importance. I should like to know who have been the backbone of football in Lancashire and Yorkshire of later years. They have, with few exceptions belonged to the working-class players not the 'collar and cuff brigade' . . . – those who have much to lose by indulging in this recreation, whereas in the Southern teams, the men, as a rule, have been born with a silver spoon in their mouth and do not really understand broken-time.<sup>32</sup>

The new Northern Union believed that by forming its own union which would allow players to be compensated for losing wages, it could "curtail professionalism better than the Rugby Union had succeeded in doing".<sup>33</sup> The Northern Union was established on a business basis and had regulations for control and reward. Its rules were set out in October 1895. The first rule concurred with that of the RFU, stating that "Professionalism is illegal". It defined a professional as

any player who shall receive from his club, or any member of it, any money consideration whatever (except bona fide broken-time) actual or prospective, for services rendered to the club for which he is a member.<sup>34</sup>

Thus the Northern Union and the RFU regulations were in essence the same, apart from the broken-time principle. Broken time was set at 6/- a day with no more than one day's pay allowed for any one match. Training expenses and 'elastic' hotel bills were prohibited.

---

<sup>32</sup> Delaney, p.72-3.

<sup>33</sup> Greenhalgh, p.357.

<sup>34</sup> Delaney, p 70.

Having a job was made compulsory for players. Players were called amateurs (until 1898), and could play providing they had a legitimate job and their employer agreed to their having time off. Breaches of the professional rules were to be punishable by fines ranging from £25 to £150.<sup>35</sup>

Despite this, widespread veiled professionalism continued. To maintain a quality team, some players were offered more and more money. By 1898 the time had come to decide what to do about professionalism. Was the Northern Union to continue with the current abused system or lose face and allow players to be paid? Whereas the 1895 decision to allow broken-time payments had been a very moderate change, the issue of full professionalism would alter the role of players profoundly. At the Northern Union AGM the question of whether professionalism should operate covertly or in the open under the control of the body was decided. Joseph Platt, secretary of the Union, introduced the vote on the new rules by saying:

As it is an admitted fact that professionalism is now carried on by the majority of clubs in membership with the Union, my committee trust that you will support them in legalizing the payment of players so that such payment may be made in a perfectly honest and honourable manner.<sup>36</sup>

Not all clubs wanted professionalism. Smaller clubs especially knew that the expense would cause problems for them. Players however, realizing the value that their skills would have, pressured for outright professionalism. At length the Northern Union decided to adopt professionalism as part of a four point charter in 1898 designed to prevent players from being financially dependant upon the game. The new Northern Union regulations also included work clauses which stipulated:

(a) That a professional is a player who received remuneration above the travelling expenses actually incurred. (b) All professionals must be registered. (c) All professionals must be in bona fide employment. (Non-bona fide occupations included billiard markers, bookies runner, public house waiters and any occupation in connection with a club.) (d) Professionals thrown out of work by fire, lockout or strike must seek permission from the Northern

---

<sup>35</sup> Delaney, p 70; Dunning & Sheard, p.207; Gate, p.26, Greenhalgh, p.357; Finlay Macdonald, *The Game of Our Lives*, (Auckland 1996), p.31; Martens, p.46, Williams, p 251

<sup>36</sup> Gate, p.28.



Union to play. (e) Professionals losing or changing jobs must notify the club secretary who, in turn, must inform the Northern Union. Such players were forbidden to play again until in bona fide employment.<sup>37</sup>

This charter was portrayed by the Union as acting in honesty and honour, in comparison with the Rugby Union's veiled professionalism. However the press saw it as an inevitable result of the failure of broken-time. The professional / amateur divide reflected the current social divisions within society, and as press journalists were often the product of public school education, they had a consequent attachment to the ethos of amateurism.<sup>38</sup>

'Work clauses' were rigorously enforced, especially during the first few years, with players being suspended for taking time off prior to playing a game, while others were suspended for the whole season depending upon their 'crime'. Players were penalized even for visiting sick relatives, and in some cases for not working for three days because they had been ill. The work clauses and their petty bureaucracy inflicted unnecessary hardships on many players and their families. Checking the eligibility of players from week to week caused many headaches for club secretaries. Consequently, the 'work clauses' were attacked regularly at the AGM's of the Northern Union.<sup>39</sup> 'Spies and informers' were needed to maintain the system, and the hatred this caused, along with threatened strikes by players, finally got the message across. But it was not until 1905 that these work clauses were finally abolished by a 31-25 majority at the AGM. In spite of this, most players continued to have full time jobs, as the harsh economic reality meant few players were able to be full time professionals anyway.<sup>40</sup>

Eventually Northern Union officials realized they would achieve little by remaining a carbon copy of the game they had rejected. So a Challenge Cup was introduced, with major alterations being made to the playing laws and scoring system. The need to entertain spectators and play winning football also saw a number of rule changes introduced that would

---

<sup>37</sup> Gate, p 28.

<sup>38</sup> Dunning & Sheard, p.209; Greenhalgh, pp 357, 360-1; Vamplew, p.195-6.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p.196.

<sup>40</sup> Birley, p 243, Delaney, p.102, Gate, p 28; Greenhalgh, p.372.

make the game more open and thus please the crowds. The very first changes occurred on 9 December 1895, when a deliberate knock-on incurred a penalty. Two years later, the line-out was abolished and replaced with a punt from touch. The points system was altered and all goals were now worth two points. 'Charges' at free kicks were made illegal, which helped encourage the emergence of star goal-kickers. In 1906 the rules were again revised to those which are characteristic of the game today. The front row became a three-man affair; scrums were awarded when the ball was carried into touch and at the point of kicking if the ball entered touch on the full; and the knock-on law was relaxed. New play-the-ball rules allowed a tackled player to get up and place the ball on the ground before playing it in any direction with his feet. Players were reduced from 15 to 13 by removing the wing-forwards. By 1907, these changes and alterations had created a more entertaining game that was faster and more spectacular, for players now needed to be much fitter, and display superior technique and specialization.<sup>41</sup>

Southern rugby men, at the time of the split, drank a toast to the news of the formation of the Northern Union, assuring themselves it would not last and that soon all the clubs would be back to the fold. They even made a concession to those who had 'rashly' decided to join the Northern Union. They would grant clubs and players an amnesty if they decided to 'come back to the fold' by resigning their membership from the Northern Union and report to their County Committee by 1 November 1895.<sup>42</sup> However, it was only hopeful expectation. The breakaway was a huge blow to the RFU, because the northern clubs were the strongest. The game of Rugby Union was suffering terribly: "Of all the epidemics of modern times, Northern Union leprosy is the most insidious in its attacks".<sup>43</sup> Many junior clubs who had vowed loyalty to the amateur code, found themselves increasingly isolated, as the 'Rules to Professionalism' made it quite clear that they were not allowed to play against the Northern

---

<sup>41</sup> Eric Bennetts, *The Rugby League Annual 1933*, (Auckland 1933), p 10; Birley, p.241, Coffey, p.30, Chris Cunneen, "The Rugby War the Early History of Rugby League in New South Wales, 1907-15", in Cashman & McKernan, *Sport in History*, (Queensland 1979), p 294; Gate, pp.38-40.

<sup>42</sup> Delaney, p.80.

<sup>43</sup> Anonymous quote in Vamplew, p.196.

Union. The resulting loss of support, fixtures and gates, saw many of these clubs 'pack up and go North'. In 1893 the RFU had a membership of 481 clubs, but by 1903 that figure had fallen to 244. The number of affiliated clubs in Yorkshire by 1907 was only 14, a far cry from the 150 clubs at the time of the split. Many clubs went out of existence. In fact it was not until around 1925 that the RFU's earlier numerical strength finally recovered.<sup>44</sup>

Those who had forecast the early demise of the rebel code were cruelly disappointed. Within a year of formation the number of clubs which belonged to the Northern Union rose from 22 to 59 and by 1898 there were 98. By 1901 the Northern Union was able to announce a balance of £2,334. But despite this rosy picture, the pressure was beginning to tell on some clubs, and ominous reports of financial strain after 1900 forced the Northern Union to take a hard look at what it was trying to achieve.

The Northern Union had organized itself into separate Yorkshire and Lancashire Leagues in order to accommodate the increased numbers of clubs after the first year. But in 1901 the top seven clubs from each league formed a new Northern Rugby Football League, (a 'Super League'). This depleted the Senior Competitions and alienated their public. The resulting widespread dissatisfaction led to the Senior Competition being expanded in 1902 to two divisions of 18 clubs, despite many of the minor clubs having fears about the move. The general anxiety that many felt was expressed by Mr. J.H.R. Bazley, secretary of Holbeck, when he said:

The move is a wrong one as far as the Yorkshire clubs are concerned. The Lancashire clubs have improved their fixture lists all round at the expense of their neighbours. Clubs such as South Shields, Birkenhead, Lancaster, Millom, Stockport, and Morecambe will not attract £20 gates, and the visitors will bring no spectators. At the same time the extra expenses in visiting these places will constitute a big item. My tip is that many clubs will be hopelessly bankrupt at the season's end.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Coffey, p.30, Gate, p.29.

<sup>45</sup> Delaney, p 106

Mr. Bazley's words proved prophetic. Increased travel costs, a fall in attendance, the serious financial problems of some clubs, and competition from soccer all left the Northern Union in crisis. By 1907, Batley for example, were in debt to the tune of £896, despite having won the Challenge Cup three times in the first five seasons; Bramley, also in debt £300, had gates averaging less than £10, and one fixture (against Dewsbury) brought in the grand sum of 10/-! Many lower division teams disbanded, including those mentioned by Mr. Bazley. Two divisions were not tried again for almost another 60 years. In the 1905-06 season a single big league was tried, but this did not work either. It was not until 1908 that a top four play-off at the end of the season was tried, and this proved to be both popular and successful.<sup>46</sup>

The Northern Union was trying to deal constructively with its teething troubles. Competition from soccer especially was a major problem. Many Northern Union clubs let out their grounds for soccer games<sup>47</sup> in an attempt to make money, but spectators were being attracted by this free-flowing and less complex game. Many schools had abandoned Rugby in favour of soccer, and some junior teams had also abandoned the Northern Union game in order to play soccer.<sup>48</sup> A big blow came in 1903 when Manningham defected to soccer to become Bradford City FC. In 1904 Holbeck lost the play-off with St. Helens to join the Northern League First Division, and, realizing that "Second League Northern Union football will not pay", they too opted for soccer. They sold their football ground at Elland Road in 1905 and became Leeds City. Of the six teams mentioned by Mr. Bazley in the Northern Union Second Division in 1902/03, Birkenhead, South Shields and Stockport all changed codes, as did Bradford (Park Avenue) from the First Division. (Manningham and Holbeck were from the Second Division).<sup>49</sup> It is interesting to speculate about what might have occurred had rugby not closed itself off from the 'masses'. By embracing the working-class

---

<sup>46</sup> Arnold, pp.13, 22-3, Birley, p.241-2; Delaney, p 105-6; Gate, p.29, Greenhalgh, p 372.

<sup>47</sup> For example, as early as 1. August 1895, it was decided to amalgamate Halifax's rugby and association clubs. During 1895/6 Leeds allowed Headingley to be used for soccer, and from 1896-1900 soccer was played at Rochdale Hornets' Athletic Grounds. In 1904 Hull helped the fledgling Hull City by sharing the Boulevard in the football club's first season. (see Delaney, p.105 )

<sup>48</sup> For example, Airedale Valley did not have one soccer club in 1895, but by 1905 had 38 teams, many of which were direct descendants from Northern Union junior organizations (see Delaney, p.105.)

<sup>49</sup> Arnold, pp.41, 55; Delaney, p.105.

player, rugby might have been able to rival soccer as the dominant winter code in Britain, and as a consequence there may have been no need to create the new Northern Union game.

The RFU used finals and money-spinning overseas tours as options to fill their coffers. But unlike the Rugby Union, whose teams could undertake tours to other rugby playing countries, the Northern Union was isolated within its region. It was the only area in the world where the game was played. However, this was to change with the news that a professional club in Wales was being formed. In May 1907 an advertisement in a local Aberdare paper stated:

Northern Union Club at Aberdare. All players desirous of joining the new club, which is run in connection with the Northern Union, should send in their names immediately to E.H. Rees, secretary, Pembroke-street, Aberdare.<sup>50</sup>

Mr. Rees, in an interview,<sup>51</sup> stated that he had decided to sever all ties with the Welsh Rugby Union (WRFU) as a consequence of the harsh treatment his club (the Aberdare Football Club) had received from them. He wanted to establish Northern Union football as a rival to that played by the WRFU. It was a well known fact that veiled professionalism was rampant in many so-called amateur rugby clubs, especially in Wales, and Mr. Rees's statement that "nearly all the leading Welsh clubs had paid players in their ranks" caused many a sharp intake of breath amongst rugby's hard-core amateurs, as well as 'those in the know'. He was stating what was an unspoken truth and thus exposing the shamateur nature of rugby in Wales.<sup>52</sup> The President of the Northern Union, Mr. J.R. Cooke, speaking at the annual meeting of the Wakefield Trinity Football Club, stated that in Wales "there was scarcely a club of any note that was not professional to the core".<sup>53</sup> Mr. Rees had written to a Northern Union official asking for advice. Mr. W. McCutcheon, a former Welsh international who now resided at Oldham, wrote in support of Mr. Rees' allegations that players were paid, and said that if Aberdare went over to the Northern Union then other clubs

---

<sup>50</sup> *Evening Post (EP)*: 13 July 1907, p.14, c.3

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>52</sup> Williams, p.258.

<sup>53</sup> *EP*: 27 July 1907, p.14, c.3.

would follow. He assured Mr. Rees that the Union would back him in any way it could, as this would

provide a counter attraction to the Welsh Union [which] would prove to be the biggest blow you could possibly deliver to the Welsh Union for their treatment of you and your club.<sup>54</sup>

In the same year, a Northern Union club was formed at Ebbw Vale, because one of the administrators liked 'the honest way the Northern Union did business', and Merthyr Tydfil also joined following disputes with the WRFU. For the 1908-09 season a Welsh Rugby League was formed, with six teams from Aberdare, Barry, Ebbw Vale, Merthyr, Mid Rhondda, and Treherbert participating.<sup>55</sup> However the Northern Union could not maintain its position in Wales for a number of reasons. The greatest difficulty was the distance the Welsh teams had to travel to play games against the other teams in the North of England, which meant their travel costs had to be heavily subsidized. This, along with the poor playing record of the Welsh, competition from soccer, and falling attendances (indirectly caused by the loss of many good players being lured North instead of staying to build up the strength of the professional clubs in Wales) all contributed to the demise of the game there. The lack of a strong administrative base at Wrexham for the Welsh Northern Union also played a part.<sup>56</sup>

Another factor in Wales was that the public school influence was not so well developed. Competition, gamemoney and expenses had already developed in Welsh rugby, and even though this kind of professionalism was rampant, it was ignored by RFU officials in an effort to offset the lucrative offers made by the Northern Union clubs. Often it was only the down payment that tempted players North, as the weekly salary they were being offered seldom exceeded that already being paid to them by the rugby clubs. Former Welsh international W.M. McCutcheon strongly implied that his old club had been paying players 'reasonable expenses' for the last 20 years. Administrators were prepared to tolerate payments

---

<sup>54</sup> *EP*: 13 July 1907, p.14, c 3

<sup>55</sup> David Smith and Gareth Williams, *Fields of Praise*, (Cardiff 1980), p.178; Vamplew, p.65; Williams, p.262-3.

<sup>56</sup> Smith & Williams, p.178; Vamplew, p.65, Williams, p 264.

because they did not want the game to lose its working-class support and become class specific. And by keeping payments secret, they would keep their RFU affiliation along with middle-class support. If Wales 'officially' professionalized the game, it would be cut off from the international rugby fraternity and be reduced to 'a region playing the regional representatives of the North of England.' In Wales rugby had become the focus for national pride, especially after 1905, and played the part of a unifying element within Welsh society. Whereas rugby football elsewhere was socially exclusive, in Wales it was socially inclusive, democratic and 'amateur'.<sup>57</sup>

The Northern Union men did not want to create a new game – its founders did not want out-and-out professionalism. Initially all they were interested in was paying broken-time in order to allow their players the dignity of playing rugby. But with the move to accept professionalism in 1898, the realization came that they now had a game very different from amateur rugby, and they could never go back even if they wanted to. This brought about an alteration in the rules and laws of the rugby game to make the game faster and more entertaining. What they eventually created was the game we now know as Rugby League. It was their game, rooted in the society and values of the North, suited to the conditions under which they lived, worked and played.

Northern rugby naturally progressed towards a more structured and physical type of game. The northerners played hard and played to win, which went against the amateur ethos of the southern rugby men. The popularity of this game in the North was due to the fact that it met the needs of its players and reflected the hard physical work that they were used to doing during the week. Rugby in general placed more emphasis on teamwork, strength and physical prowess, and was less restrained than soccer. It also reflected traditional northern masculine values which were well received by spectators. Games in the North attracted large crowds and with this came increased gate money and profits for officials. Community support and encouragement, along with a high degree of local rivalry, helped boost the

---

<sup>57</sup> Smith & Williams, p.97, Vamplew, p.202, Williams, pp.258, 266

popularity of League and Cup competitions, all of which were anathema to southern rugby gentlemen with their distaste for competition.

Problems that the Northern Union faced after 1898 were largely due to its isolation. When it increased the number of clubs, the top players were spread too thinly, and the game suffered as a consequence. The advance of soccer into what were once staunch rugby strongholds also sapped the strength and popularity of the Northern Union game. As crowds started flocking to this rival code, northern rugby clubs started to go broke. The popularity of the Northern Union game was at an all-time low.

But the advent of a tour by a New Zealand professional team in 1907 was about to change the international isolation of the Northern Union forever, and would give it a much-needed boost.



## CHAPTER 2.

### AN ENTREPRENEURIAL VENTURE: GENESIS OF THE ALL GOLDS.

Albert Henry Baskiville (often spelled 'Baskerville') was born in 1883 in Waiorongomai, a small rural town on the outskirts of Te Aroha.<sup>58</sup> He worked as a Post Office clerk in Wellington, and played rugby union for the Oriental Rugby Club. The foundation of Rugby League in the Southern Hemisphere is a direct result of the efforts of this one man and the group of rugby union players he assembled. These men had the courage to turn their backs on Rugby Union and risk 'lifetime disqualification' in order to start a new era for football in Australasia.

Baskiville's awareness of the game of Northern Union Rugby<sup>59</sup> (Northern Union) was purely accidental. In his own words:

The possession of some money and a love of adventure, and an article appearing in a London daily paper, are in the first place responsible for a team of New Zealand Rugby footballers visiting Great Britain and playing combinations affiliated to the English Northern Rugby Union.<sup>60</sup>

It is now folklore that a workmate of Baskiville's, known as 'Old Harry', suffered a coughing seizure and collapsed. His copy of the *Manchester Athletic News* was retrieved by Baskiville, and in it Baskiville read that 40,000 people had watched one of the new-fangled 13-a-side games at Bradford.<sup>61</sup> This article was presumably the one written by F.W. Cooper, a Northern Union enthusiast, to whom Baskiville alluded in the "Evolution of the Tour".<sup>62</sup> Cooper said,

---

<sup>58</sup> John Haynes, *From All Blacks to All Golds*, (Christchurch 1996), p 28.

<sup>59</sup> The name 'Northern Union' was officially changed to 'Rugby League' in 1922 when the English Northern Rugby Football Union fell into line with Australia and New Zealand, who both used the name 'Rugby League'

<sup>60</sup> A.H. Baskerville, "Evolution of the Tour", specially written for *The Dominion* at Colombo, 11 September 1907, in *The Dominion*: 9 October 1907: p.6, c.7.

<sup>61</sup> Ron Palenski (ed), *Between The Posts*, (Auckland 1989), p.81.

<sup>62</sup> Baskerville, "Evolution of the Tour".



**Plate 1**

ALBERT HENRY BASKIVILLE.

Source: Photo reproduced with kind permission, by John Haynes from *From All Blacks to All Golds*, (Christchurch 1996).

there existed in the North of England, a keen desire to see their clubs or players try conclusions with a team of New Zealanders. . . . The wearers of the Silver Fern have not been defeated, but they have not played the cream of English football. Such men play under the banner of the Northern Union.

Baskiville learned from a conversation with a returned 1905 All Black (presumably George Smith), that the Northern Union authorities had held out a substantial gate guarantee for a match with the New Zealanders. Baskiville went on to say "This set me thinking. Why shouldn't a New Zealand team play the Northern Unionists?" <sup>63</sup>

So it was that Baskiville resolved on an ambitious plan: to develop in secret a scheme that would dispatch the cream of New Zealand football players on a tour of the North of England, playing matches against the Northern Union. He wrote to the Northern Union clubs with the suggestion of starting the game in New Zealand, inquiring about the prospect of any guarantees that would be available for a New Zealand team if it were to tour in England. He also got in touch with a few prominent New Zealand players, sounding them out about their interest in touring should a team be assembled to play the Northern Union. The results showed that many were willing to go should a team be formed. According to Baskiville, they felt "it would be a shrewd and rather sensible idea [and] they all seemed to rather like the scheme." <sup>64</sup>

Although Baskiville's letter to the secretaries of the clubs in the Northern Union was confidential, news of the letter and the fact that a 'professional' football team was going to tour England came to light in New Zealand at the beginning of May 1907. New Zealanders were shocked by an article in *The New Zealand Herald* of 1 May 1907, which printed a dispatch written in London on 22 March 1907. It was a report about the contents of Baskiville's letter to the Northern Union and its proposal for a 'professional' All Black tour. (see Appendix A). However, it did not disclose Baskiville's identity. Rumour had it that a syndicate from Wellington were putting up the funds for the scheme, and a gentleman from Wellington was acting in the capacity of secretary and promoter of this syndicate. A week or

---

<sup>63</sup> Baskerville, "Evolution of the Tour".

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

so later *The Evening Post* reprinted another article from an English paper dated 28 March 1907, which showed a circular sent out by the Northern Union Committee to its clubs, stating the criteria for the New Zealand tour and inquiring whether the clubs would be willing to play against the New Zealanders under these terms. (see Appendix A:2).

Baskiville's letter had been favourably received by the clubs in the Northern Union, and they offered guarantees of 70% of the gate, along with a guarantee of £3000 for the team to make the tour. Baskiville had been secretly undertaking a recruitment drive to obtain the best players he could to form a team. In their haste to comment about and hopefully banish the dreaded 'professional scourge', the rugby unions unintentionally ended up spreading the news of the proposed tour. As a result, about 160 players applied to Baskiville for a place in the team, including at least 14 All Blacks.<sup>65</sup> With help from a few top players acting as assistant selectors, Baskiville went around the country visiting rugby grounds, to ascertain the form of those who had indicated they were interested in touring. All this was done with the utmost secrecy. According to Baskiville,

once the scheme was fairly started, and advertised gratuitously by the different Rugby Unions, no difficulty was experienced in getting together a strong combination. The trouble was the selecting of a team from the numerous applicants for positions in it.<sup>66</sup>

Baskiville gathered together what he thought would be 'the cream of New Zealand footballers'. They each deposited £50 towards expenses, and as a guarantee of good faith. Baskiville was basing his tour on the way the Australian cricket team operated. It was to be amateur, except when it toured. The players would share in the profits of the tour, but after they came back they were declared amateur again and were not penalized for it. Baskiville explained this in an article he wrote for the *Dominion*, saying:

Our idea was to get players to travel Home as amateurs, that is to pay their own expenses, and divide the gate proceeds equally, as the Australian cricketers do. We hold that we are still amateur footballers, because we do not, nor do we intend to gain a living by playing football. We are taking a trip

---

<sup>65</sup> *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury* 3 October 1907. The written applications from 14 of the original All Blacks were in the possession of the officials.

<sup>66</sup> Baskiville got in touch with players and made arrangements. Baskerville, "Evolution of the Tour".

to England at our own expense. The mere fact of our playing against teams which play a few professionals does not alter our status one jot.<sup>67</sup>

However, the selection of the kind of team that would satisfy Northern Union expectations became more difficult because of the actions of the New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU). Initially the NZRU ignored all the wildly circulating rumours about professional football. But eventually such was the outcry and indignation expressed around the country at the prospect of 'professional football', that many individual unions started passing resolutions to show their disapproval of the scheme. They urged the NZRU to do something to discourage it.<sup>68</sup> The NZRU's first move came when it issued a declaration requiring every player nominated for the inter-island match to sign a statement saying that he was not a professional player and would not be going on tour to England with the New Zealand Professional team. Should any of the players refuse to sign the agreement, they would not be allowed to play in either the inter-island match on 3 June, or in the forthcoming team to visit Australia.<sup>69</sup> (see Appendix B). This controversial document, which had to be signed before a JP, had seven clauses. (see Appendix B:2). The first two demanded that the signatory must not have previously received payment or any approaches that would tarnish his amateur standing; the other five clauses meant that signatories had to pledge they would rebuff any non-amateur agents, inform the union of the names of these agents, and assist the union in preventing anyone being induced to breach the union by-laws.<sup>70</sup> The document was published in the papers a few days later, and the NZRU in response to criticism resolved to delete clause four from the form. This was the clause that stated signatories must inform the union of the name of any person who had approached them about joining the professional team.<sup>71</sup>

This document caused a major furore. The chairman of the Management Committee of the Auckland Rugby Union (ARU) arranged for the players to gather together following

---

<sup>67</sup> Baskerville, "Evolution of the Tour".

<sup>68</sup> For example, see *New Zealand Herald (NZH)*: 8 May 1907, p.8:c.2.; 18 May 1907, p.8:c.2.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, 25 May 1907, p.5:c.3.

<sup>70</sup> John Coffey, in Bernard Wood (ed), *New Zealand Rugby League Annual* 1986, p.60.

<sup>71</sup> *Evening Post (EP)*: 25 May 1907, p 9:c.9.

their Saturday games. He explained to them why all players were expected to sign the agreement, and what it actually contained. The players were incensed by this demand from the Rugby Union. Twelve Auckland players – G. Tyler, Dunning, Seeling, Francis, Nicholson, Cunningham, Trevarthen, G. Smith, R. Wynyard, R. Magee, G. Gillett, and Todd – refused to sign. Their amateur status had never been questioned before, and some felt it an insult to be asked. They stated they would not be bound by the conditions laid down in the declaration. But their refusal meant they were not selected for the inter-island game to be played on 3 June.<sup>72</sup>

Joining the twelve Auckland players in opposition were Eric Watkins, from Wellington, along with three Petone players, H "Bumper" Wright, Tom Cross and Con Byrne. In Canterbury, All Black, Duncan McGregor, had been picked to make his first appearance with the Christchurch team. McGregor was informed by a union official that the NZRU wanted all players to sign the declaration by midday. McGregor denied that he had been approached to join the professional team, but refused to sign the declaration. When questioned by a reporter, he said that the document he had been given was not the same as that published in the paper. His document did not contain the numerous clauses telegraphed from Wellington, but instead had two clauses: one a general amateur declaration, the other dealing more particularly with the projected English tour. When McGregor would not sign, he was told he would be 'at risk', and his Christchurch Club were also warned that should they select him in their team for the game, they did so at their own risk. In order to avoid any trouble, McGregor did not play, and Christchurch had to find a substitute.<sup>73</sup>

One of the players who refused to sign the declaration stated that he objected to the principle of enforcing amateurs to sign a declaration that required them to "sell" any liberty they had:

For instance, I, like others, pay my subscription to a club to play football with the other members. I also pay a shilling a week to go out to the grounds, and

---

<sup>72</sup> *EP* 27 May 1907, p.7, c.7; *NZH* 27 May 1907, p.8, c.3.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*; Coffey, p.60.

why should I have to sign a declaration? I have been an amateur footballer for the past 14 years or so, and my status has never been questioned. Why should it be questioned now? Continuing, he said that the only money he had received for playing football was 3s a day from the New Zealand union when taking part in representative matches. He could not see how one who played for the love of the game should be asked to go before a justice of the peace and sign something binding him over to a certain body, the penalty being that if at any time he broke it he would be liable to imprisonment. In conclusion, he said that it was just the principle of the thing he was fighting for, and he would not sign a declaration for either side, the union or the professionals.<sup>74</sup>

Cross, Byrne and Wright were subsequently examined by the Management Committee of the Wellington Rugby Union, following instructions from the NZRU. When questioned by the committee, the players stated their objections and said they knew nothing about the professional team. They felt it was unfair to single out a few men to sign the agreement. Instead all players should have to sign. Nor did they see why they should be questioned about their amateur status now, when previously they had not been doubted.<sup>75</sup>

Although all the players signed eventually, they did take legal advice before doing so. By doing this they discovered that the Rugby Union had no legal right to make the claim, and that they would not land up in court should they later change their minds and go over to the 'pros'.<sup>76</sup> The Auckland players held a meeting to discuss their actions. Consequently they stated their position to the secretary of the ARU, Mr. Langsford, explaining that they could not sign the declaration because of money they had received from the NZRU when they toured Great Britain. Those who did not tour had not signed either, because they realized the position the New Zealand reps were being placed in. To fix this problem, Mr. Langsford added a clause to the declaration stating:

they had never received any moneys 'except moneys received by members of the 'All Black' team from the New Zealand Union during the tour of the New Zealanders to Great Britain.'

Once this was done, the players signed the declaration, as well as a letter to the NZRU explaining their actions, and pointing out they had never abused the confidence the NZRU

---

<sup>74</sup> *NZH*: 28 May 1907, p.6, c.2.

<sup>75</sup> *EP*: 6 June 1907, p.2, c.4.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, 5 June 1907, p.7, c.8.

had placed in them. They also expressed their opinion that the step taken was quite uncalled for. However, even though these players signed the declaration, they were told it was too late for them to be included in the North Island team, although they would be eligible for any future representative games.<sup>77</sup>

Many of those within the various rugby organizations felt the players who had refused to sign the declaration had made a 'false step'. They saw the declaration as merely the NZRU looking after the welfare of the game by putting into writing what had in the past been taken for granted. Others felt that those players who were going to join with the professionals should have the moral courage to admit it, and not hide behind others.<sup>78</sup> One member, when asked his opinion, said to a *New Zealand Herald* reporter:

In the past there has been no extraordinary circumstance like the present to necessitate such a step as has now had to be taken. It is down now as a guarantee to the public of New Zealand and Australia that the team representing New Zealand is not constituted of players who are travelling as amateurs, while they are promised professionals.<sup>79</sup>

As soon as the NZRU discovered that Baskiville was the Tour's organizer, they drafted a letter which was forwarded to him on Saturday morning, 25 May. This letter requested Baskiville to attend a special meeting of the Rugby Union to be held on Monday night, 27 May. When he failed to attend, the letter and Baskiville's written response to it (see Appendix C) were read to the delegates. Baskiville was banned for life from playing football, and was also banned from all playing grounds around the country. The NZRU managed to achieve this by enlisting help from the various Borough Councils who held the responsibility for these playing grounds. Actually, Baskiville was banned not for being a professional, but for refusing to divulge the names of players who had said they would tour England. Following the news of Baskiville's banning by the NZRU, the *Sydney Bulletin* published the following witty paragraph:

---

<sup>77</sup> *EP*: 30 May 1907, p.7, c.8; *NZH*: 30 May 1907, p.6, c.4.

<sup>78</sup> *EP*: 28 May 1907, p.5, c.2; *NZH*: 28 May 1907, p.6, c.2.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*



The Maorilander is strenuous in many things, but the way the M.L. Rugby Union used the axe on the proposal to send a professional team of Maorilanders to England was sudden even for the Plutonic islanders. It sought out the promoter of the enterprise, and disqualified him as a footballer for life, and went so far as to forbid him entering any ground even as a spectator of any match played under the auspices of the Union. Whether it has the power to do this is questionable, but it has done it, and taken the chances. The Union looked so mad that the promoter thinks he is lucky in that it didn't disqualify his descendants to the fourth generation. Anyhow, he becomes the Football Leper of Maoriland, the Accursed and Unspeakable; and, in a football sense, his house is razed to the ground, and its site sown with salt. The Union then called upon all amateur players to sign an undertaking never, in this life or the life to come, to join any professional team - that alternative being disqualification for all Eternity. At time of writing, the Aucklanders, who represent the flower of Maoriland Rugby, two Otago men, two Wellingtonians, and one Canterbury man have failed to sign the undertaking, so presumably the axe will again be hard at work very shortly. The Maorilanders may not be as good as the Tasmanians at chopping down trees, but they can chop down footballers.<sup>80</sup>

The secretary of the Wellington Rugby Union (WRU) wrote to the Petone Borough Council asking them to write and warn Baskiville not to enter the Petone Recreation Ground. An amusing discussion from the council members ensued, and was reported in the *Evening Post* as follows:<sup>81</sup>

'Has he killed anyone?' queried Councillor Castle.

'No' answered the Mayor 'but I believe he has grievously offended the Rugby Union'.

Councillor Coles: I don't think it has anything to do with us. Let them do their own dirty work.

Councillor Nicholson: Can we do anything? It is a free ground.

Councillor Lodder: The union has no power to do anything like that on our grounds.

Councillor Coles: What have we to do with this matter? Is it anything to do with us if he has refused to sign a certain paper.

The Mayor: If we liked to write to the Rugby Union authorising them to order the man off they could do so.

Councillor Lodder: Is this matter all there is against the man?

The Mayor: I understand he is the secretary of the New Zealand Professional Rugby football team.

Councillor Coles: He has admitted it.

The Mayor: If the council is desirous of putting down professionalism in football, now is the chance to show its hand.

Councillor Castle: Who is to say where professionalism begins?

---

<sup>80</sup> *The Bulletin* 6 June 1907, p.24, c.3

<sup>81</sup> *EP* 11 June 1907, p 2, c.8.

Councillor Southgate: What about putting down professionalism in the union itself? It is after money all the time.

Councillor Lodder: Not individually.

The Mayor: We gave the Trotting Club power to put any one off the ground if they so desired during the meeting.

Councillor Castle moved that similar authority be given the Rugby Union, and this was carried without dissent.

The Petone Borough council later received a letter from Baskiville (see Appendix C:2) wanting the exact wording of the *by-law* which enabled the council to refuse him admission to the sports ground. He also wanted the exact wording of the motion or amendment whereby he was labelled 'objectionable' – as reported in the newspapers. In discussing this request of Baskiville's, the councillors after some discussion, decided to comply with his request by supplying Baskiville with the terms of the council's resolution – which was not actually what Baskiville requested at all.<sup>82</sup> Baskiville also wrote to the WRU inquiring whether he was also prohibited from attending hockey and football matches held on the Petone Recreation Grounds on Saturday afternoons, and whether he was an 'objectionable' person in the eyes of the WRU.

At a meeting of the WRU on 3 July Mr. McIntyre moved that Baskiville's suspension be removed, for the NZRU had achieved its goal since Baskiville could neither play nor hold office anymore. But some thought that to change the motion would be a sign of weakness. Others thought that by forbidding Baskiville admission to grounds, the NZRU had alienated public sympathy instead of helping the suppression of the proposed professional tour. In the end Baskiville's suspension was left as originally stated, but the WRU decided to ask the NZRU to indemnify the WRU should any legal action about the matter arise.<sup>83</sup>

Because Baskiville was banned from rugby grounds around the country, the task of selecting a team was made more difficult. To further complicate things, the (amateur) All Blacks were to tour Australia during June and July. Hence the Rugby Union's desire to know

---

<sup>82</sup> *EP* 25 June 1907, p 2, c 6

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, 4 July 1907, p.7, c.1; New Zealand Rugby Football Union Management Committee Minutes, 7 July 1907.

the names of those intending to turn 'pro'. They did not want to make Baskiville's selection process easier by his choosing all those who were to make the All Blacks team for Australia. Speculation was rife about the identity of those who would make up the team. But by July, Baskiville was able to release some broad detail about the tour. He said that the team had finally been selected, but he was not able to name names yet as it would not be fair to the players concerned. Baskiville also said that the combination was a strong one, comprising twenty-five players in total, with sixteen forwards and nine backs, although he said there might be a further two players added to the list later. In talking to the *Evening Post* reporter, Baskiville commented that

at present . . . the team comprises mostly North Island men. At least nine of the men selected have represented New Zealand and several of them were members of the famous 'All Black' team.<sup>84</sup>

In spite of all the difficulties experienced, Baskiville had managed to secure some of the top rugby players in the country. Numbered among them were four All Blacks and 17 provincial reps. The four All Blacks were: George Smith, Duncan McGregor, William (Massa) Johnston, W.H. Mackrell. Also there were four ex-All Blacks – E. L. Watkins, T. Cross, E. Wrigley, and H.S. Turtill. Names of the players were not made public until after the team had sailed for Australia in August. Twenty-four were then named, and were as follows: S. Turtill, Lavery, D. McGregor, Pearce (Canterbury), W. Wynyard, R. Wynyard, G. W. Smith, L.B. Todd, H. Rowe, W. Tyler, W. Trevarthen, W.H. Mackrell, Hall, (Auckland), E. Wrigley (Wairarapa), A.H. Baskiville, A. Callum, E. Watkins, E. Lile, D. Gilchrist (Wellington), T. Cross, H.R. Wright, A. Kelly, E. Tyne, C. Byrne (Petone).<sup>85</sup> Speculation circulated that a number of players had agreed to go but changed their minds at the last minute, but Baskiville said there were no last minute withdrawals as suggested in various newspapers. The rebels were "jeered and sarcastically dubbed the All Golds" because they were classed as 'gold diggers' – just in for the money.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> *EP* 8 July 1907, p 8, c 5

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, 10 August 1907, p.5, c 6

<sup>86</sup> W J Davidson, *Rugby League 1908-1947*, (Auckland 1947), p.12; David Hodgkinson, *Heroes of Rugby League*, (London 1983), p.33.

They go not forth to make a name,  
Or just for glory's sake;  
Nor "empty" fame, they'll play the game—  
And in the shekels rake.<sup>87</sup>

There was a general perception was that those players who were going on the professional tour were at the end of their playing careers. Generally it was assumed that

A number, perhaps the majority of these players, are about finishing their Rugby careers, and it would be a temptation to receive an offer of a final flutter Home with a prospect of sharing the profits of the tour instead of making them for a Rugby union. The gates in the North of England would undoubtedly be big if the team was a strong one, and a successful tour would mean that the men would come back to New Zealand with a lump sum of money each such as some of the men have never had in their lives and have no prospect of getting except through some such scheme as the proposed tour. With the prospect of having the trip and making a couple of hundred pounds the loss of amateur status at the fag end of a football career is not likely to be seriously considered by the average top-notch New Zealand player.<sup>88</sup>

This comment sounds quite logical and reasonable, but at the time it was made no-one knew who was going and who was not. If we look closely at the ages of the players, we can see that the assertion is not true. The majority of the players Baskiville got together were aged between 23 – 25, on the whole younger than those who went on the 1905 All Black tour. It had been noted on that tour that the younger players lasted better, so this became a determining factor in choosing the professional team. The average age of the All Golds was 25.1 compared to 25.6 for the All Blacks. (see Appendix D).

The team of 27 was made up of 22 North Island players and five from the South Island. Occupationally the players were a mix of white-collar professional employees and blue-collar workers – skilled industrial workers, along with one agrarian occupation, and one military person. One player even listed his occupation as 'gentleman'. More noticeable however was the number of white-collar workers in the team: the All Golds listed 13 compared to just 6 in the 1905 All Black team. Half the All Golds were white-collar (middle class) players, and they had fewer working-class players and farmers than the 1905 All

---

<sup>87</sup> *Truth* 13 July 1907, p.3, c.1. (Typesetting same as in original.)

<sup>88</sup> *EP*: 11 May 1907, p.14, c.5

Blacks: 17 members of the 1905 All Blacks were in blue-collar occupations, and 3 were farmers, compared with the All Golds' 13 blue-collar workers and one farmer. The following lists have been sorted into three basic groups to give an idea of the New Zealand style of class structure that could be found within the two respective teams:

#### COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS.

All Golds			1905 All Blacks		
MIDDLE CLASS	WORKING CLASS	OTHER	MIDDLE CLASS	WORKING CLASS	OTHER
(white collar)	(blue collar)		(white collar)	(blue collar)	
accountant	railway employee	farmer	newspaper corresp	storeman	farmer
club steward	railway employee	soldier	bank manager	bootmaker	farmer
launch proprietor	railway employee		solicitor	bootmaker	farmer
clerk	railway mechanic		clerk	railway employee	
clerk	metal worker		club steward	railway employee	
clerk	butcher		civil servant	railway employee	
tailor	printer		horse breeder	iron worker	
university student	printer			iron worker	
gentleman	iron worker			storeman	
surveyor	plumber			baker	
builder	plumber			foreman	
insurance agent	boilermaker			blacksmith	
post office clerk	labourer			printer	
				tinsmith	
				boilermaker	
				brewery worker	
				licensee	
total = 13	total = 13	total = 2	total = 7	total = 17	total = 3

**Table 1**

As the lists show, the All Golds have a greater number of middle-class players than the All Blacks. Their 'Gentleman' team member would have been a relative rarity in New Zealand society at the time – and certainly was not the kind of person the English would expect to find involved in a 'working-class game'.

The equal numbers of middle-class and working-class players in the All Golds team show up the fact that this tour was not the result of a working-class revolt. It was an entrepreneurial tour that appealed to young middle-class men keen on adventure. These young men obviously did not have to worry as much about finding a job at the end of the tour. It was quite probable they would have family to fall back on once they returned. They were also able to afford the initial £50 cost required to cover the early expenses of the tour. This expense was a big factor for some prospective players, as quite a number pulled out prior to

final selection, because they could not afford the initial £50. For many this would have amounted to just under a years wages – money that working-class players could not easily spare for a rugby tour. However, some working-class players were able to raise the amount, as the team list shows, and were willing to take the risk of not being able to find a job on their return.

In the public arena much newspaper column space was dedicated to the supposed virtues of amateurism and the perceived evils of professionalism. The public were split between support or outrage about the very idea of professionalism. There were many warnings for younger players. Newspaper articles questioned how committed players were to amateurism, with dire predictions that they would lose their amateur status and end up in football purgatory.<sup>89</sup> For every letter to the editor decrying the advent of professionalism in sport, there would be another which supported the cause and thought it was long overdue.<sup>90</sup> The *Evening Post* was the only New Zealand paper that consistently ran letters to the editor debating the pros and cons of the professional team. These letters featured regularly throughout the months preceding the departure of the team; that is, from the beginning of May when the news of the tour first came to light. Many of the mainstream newspapers had a middle-class readership, and so propounded the tenets of amateurism. Newspaper editorials mostly supported the idea of amateur sport, with Rugby as New Zealand's national game. They also implied that by going over to professional football New Zealand's sporting identity and honour would be at risk. An article in *The New Zealand Herald* said:

Football is the national game of New Zealand, and the fame that New Zealand has won in it all over the world is worth guarding, and should not be risked in any way. . . . Amateur football has worked very well so far, and it would be a matter for regret if a number of the best players in New Zealand – which may be regarded as the home of rugby in the Southern Hemisphere – were disqualified as amateurs.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>89</sup> See quote from *The Sydney Referee*: 8 May 1907, p.10, c.1

<sup>90</sup> For example, see *EP*: 16 May 1907, p.4, c 5-6, 18 May 1907, p 14, c.5; 22 May 1907, p 3, c.1-2; 29 May 1907, p.7, c.6; 1 June 1907, p.3, c 6, 17 June 1907, p.2, c.7. *Truth*: 22 June 1907, p 3, c.4; 14 September 1907, p.3, c.4.

<sup>91</sup> *NZH*: 1 June 1907, p.8, c.2.

There were even comments in an Australian paper about what was happening in New Zealand. The *Sydney Referee* reported:

Sportsmen generally will unite in applauding the New Zealand Union for the firm action it has taken. One is not reflecting upon those men who may see their way clear to become professionals. It is purely a matter of business with them, but of course they will at once recognise the incompatibility of professionalism with a sport that is purely amateur, and whose permanent success in the national eye depends thereon.<sup>92</sup>

But did sport have to be amateur to be successful at the national level? One of the cherished aspects of the 1905 All Blacks success had been that they were amateurs, and for this reason, amongst others, they were praised in many papers. The *New Zealand Times* said:

The men whom we are welcoming today are no hired gladiators, but amateurs playing the game for the game's sake. It is professionalism in sport that is the bane of modern civilization; and the wonderful record of our team in the Old Country points the moral. Without detracting in any way from our representatives' success, it must be apparent that had the professional element not crept into English football, we would have had a larger and more difficult field to beat. Our team's tour is a triumph for the purity of football.<sup>93</sup>

Note the stated strengths of the amateur ethos: 'playing the game for the game's sake', the 'purity of football' and 'the moral' aspect. Of course these claims were made irrespective of the fact that the players were paid for their efforts, even if it was stated that the payment was the usual touring allowance.

The banning of Baskiville resulted in some of the members of the NZRU questioning the definition of 'professional'. The WRU wrote to the NZRU asking 'whether a professional could take part in the management of a football organization, and if so, whether he had any voting power.' It was informed by the Management Committee of the NZRU that 'a person who had been declared a professional under the rules as to professionalism could not take part in the government of football under the jurisdiction of the New Zealand Union.'<sup>94</sup> The WRU also requested an explanation as to 'under what conditions an individual might receive

---

<sup>92</sup> *Sydney Referee* 29 May 1907, p.10, c 1

<sup>93</sup> *New Zealand Times* 9 March 1906, quoted in Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, (Wellington 1986), p. 151-2

<sup>94</sup> *EP*: 7 June 1907, p.2, c.4.

monetary consideration for service rendered to a football organization and still retain his amateur status'. The Management Committee decided 'that an individual may receive monetary consideration for services rendered to a football organization, and retain his amateur status so long as he does not play football'.<sup>95</sup> (This presumably was how Rowland Hill, secretary of the English Rugby Union, who was paid for his services, managed not to be deemed a professional.) There was though, even among the ranks of the Management Committee, still dissension about professionalism and what constituted it. Mr Laughton

thought it was a peculiar thing that an official could be a professional, but could not be declared a professional until he played football. To his mind the rules of professionalism were absolute rot.<sup>96</sup>

Tom Ellison, All Black and lawyer, wrote expressing his views on the laws regarding professionalism and overseas touring. He felt that by adhering to the laws on long tours, players would lose their jobs, and in some cases, their homes. The law framers, he argued, had not contemplated long overseas tours by players; nor that players other than those of independent means would become team members:

The idea [of a tour to the 'Old Country'] is excellent, he said. I see one difficulty only and that is, getting the best men away without giving them some allowance over and above their actual hotel and travelling expenses – a difficulty due to the stringency of the laws as to professionalism. Personally, I think that these laws were never intended to apply to extended tours abroad . . . I think that in such cases the rules may well be relaxed to admit of compensation being allowed to players so forfeiting their pay; to deny them some compensation would be obviously unfair and tantamount to prohibiting them from going away at all.<sup>97</sup>

New Zealand tended to copy the attitudes of England. Rugby and its associated exclusive amateur ethos had been transplanted into New Zealand direct from the English public schools by old boys. Yet in spite of this, the exclusive amateur nature characteristic of southern England did not reproduce itself in New Zealand. In southern England rugby was predominantly played by the middle-upper classes. Its ideal of amateurism was a form of social exclusion, that came from its English roots of social exclusivity and snobbery. It was

---

<sup>95</sup> NZRFU Management Committee Minutes, 13 June 1907

<sup>96</sup> *EP*: 14 June 1907, p 2, c 4.

<sup>97</sup> Quoted in Ron Palenski, *Our National Game*, (Auckland 1992), p. 103.



derived partly from an antipathy towards members of a socially inferior class, and partly from sheer ignorance about the financial difficulties such 'inferior' people experienced.<sup>98</sup> The laws of the game had been formed in England by an élite upper-class group, who at a particular time were afraid of losing both their position and standing to the 'unwashed masses'.

By contrast, those who played rugby in New Zealand were rarely from the upper echelons of society. When settlers came out from England, there was no existing 'class society' that people could slot into. Many settlers had come out expecting to escape the poverty and strict class hierarchy of England, so these people were not willing to repeat the same kind of class system as before. A new social structure developed in New Zealand, along the lines of a more egalitarian society. From the start, New Zealand Rugby was socially inclusive and competitive, and it appealed across class lines. As Geoff Fougere puts it:

In the first place then, what is achieved through rugby is the symbolic uniting of men over and against all of the differences of background, occupation, education, income, experience and belief that otherwise divide them.<sup>99</sup>

When it came to rugby, men with varied occupations, such as farmers, labourers, clerks, miners, lawyers, and railway employees, were commonly playing alongside each other. Rugby was a form of social glue. It bound together a diverse group of men dedicated to the common cause of winning individual and collective glory for their team and community.

In some ways rugby in New Zealand was similar to that in Australia, Wales and the North of England, in that it was played by a mix of working-class and middle-class men, rather than southern English school boys. And "like the northerners they played a tough game, following the letter rather than the spirit of the law and aimed to win rather than lose with dignity".<sup>100</sup> These men played the game because they enjoyed it and were good at it, and they saw nothing wrong in accepting small sums of money to supplement their modest

---

<sup>98</sup> Neil Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, (London 1996), pp.52, 87.

<sup>99</sup> Geoff Fougere, "Sport, Culture and Identity: the Case of Rugby Football", in Novitz & Willmott (eds), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, (Wellington 1989), p 116.

<sup>100</sup> Greg Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, (Christchurch 1993), p 92.

incomes. Many of these men were used to vigorous exercise through their work, and carried this onto the sporting fields. For others, the appeal of rugby was its physical nature balanced with its controlled level of violence, along with the competition and co-operation required in the game. All of this provided a vision of masculinity – teaching self-control at a manly game. As such it was seen as an important form of male education.<sup>101</sup>

A differing aspect of Rugby in New Zealand, compared with the North of England, Wales and Australia, was that many players lived in small isolated communities. There were no really large cities in New Zealand. Nor was there the overseas kind of industrial base to the economy. Our country was, and continued to be, one that dealt largely with primary produce. So we did not have large numbers of big industrial factories. Consequently, working-class people tended to be in smaller clusters, scattered through the communities, and in small local factories. However, rugby in New Zealand still served as a focal point for community, as well as provincial, identity, loyalties and involvement, and home town teams were cheered on by parochial fans fostering rivalries with other near-by towns and communities. Rugby had become an important form of entertainment and celebration, and local identification grew from the success of the local team and reflected upon the community and province at large. The following two quotes from Ron Palenski sum up the situation:

The men of New Zealand rugby, for better or for worse – and mostly it was for better – were the living, breathing folklore of New Zealand, they were placed on pedestals, revered, idolised, for their rugby skills certainly but also because, patently, they were seen to be one of us.<sup>102</sup>

In no sport in New Zealand is there a greater cross-section of society than rugby, no sport has done more to break down others' barriers of wealth or race. . . . New Zealand rugby . . . is not, as in Britain, largely the preserve of the elite. Rugby is all of us and is, in its application, distinctively New Zealand.<sup>103</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> Fougere, p.114-115.

<sup>102</sup> Palenski, p. 8

<sup>103</sup> Ibid , p. 10

The introduction of rugby into schools was also seen as a means of helping to build character, and instil in children moral virtues and good behaviour.<sup>104</sup>

The links between war and sport were also made, especially at international level, where contests were held that physically measured one nation against another. Rugby especially was seen as a good grounding for war, because one needed to be physically fit, tough and healthy to survive. At the time there was a growing general anxiety about the defence of the British Empire, along with concern about the declining moral fabric of society and racial degeneracy.<sup>105</sup> The standard of living in general was higher among New Zealanders than in Britain, and as such, was looked upon as producing more healthy and virile people. The success of Rugby in New Zealand was seen as proof that there was no decline in the British race there. A letter written by Mr. P.A. Vaile, from Auckland and published in *The Times* on 10 October 1905, gave the reasons for the All Black victories in 1905, and commented upon the ability of the All Blacks as well as the perceived decline of the Englishman:

what is the game of all games that calls for all the qualities that go to make a true Briton, pluck, endurance, speed, resource, agility, and the capacity to take physical punishment, I should say without hesitation . . . this game [rugby] must be the best trial of the relative vigour and virility of any two or more opposing countries.

No man who has studied men could look at the two teams on the field and fail to be struck by the wonderful difference in their physique and in their game. The Maorilanders are bigger, stronger, faster men, who play with a dash and an abandon, a resource and versatility, that sweep everything before them . . . Why? Because they meet teams hampered by the leaden shackles of tradition, form, precedent, whose minds have been formed on the pattern of other men's minds instead of being allowed to mould themselves as they listed.

This is the mental side of it; but it cannot be overlooked that these lusty athletes from the land of the Moa are full of an abounding vitality and vigour that is conspicuously lacking in their opponents. . . . [A]ny one who looks beneath the surface [sees] that it is not merely a game of rugby football that is being 'tried out' now; it is the question of the manhood of the nation, the physical and mental vigour of the parent stock and the sapling that has sprung

---

<sup>104</sup> Len Richardson, "Rugby, Race and Empire: The 1905 All Black Tour", *Historical News*, No 47, December 1983, p.4.

<sup>105</sup> Fougere, p.114; Richardson, p.2-3; Sinclair, p 152

from it, and realizing this it behoves the men of England to show that the bone and brain of the mother land are as good as ever they were.<sup>106</sup>

Rugby came to symbolize New Zealand, especially after the victorious 1905 All Black tour. It served to show New Zealand as a unique and virile country, quite distinct from Australia which had cricket as its national game. It also showed loyalty to Britain by proclaiming rugby (a British invention) as New Zealand's national game. The game brought the colony together and provided a focus for national pride and international success. It proved that New Zealand was no longer totally dependent upon Mother England; the Empire's children had learned the lessons and become the masters.<sup>107</sup> The deeds of the 1905 All Blacks had an enormous impact upon rugby and on New Zealand as a nation. Ever since that 1905 tour, Rugby has been a central institution of New Zealand life. In 1906 George H. Dixon, manager of the 1905 All Blacks, wrote:

[Rugby's] pursuit is a passion in City, Town and Village alike, and the interest of the game is not confined to any one class of the people, but is shared by old and young, rich and poor, and coloured. New Zealand is essentially a country whose people are fond of recreation, the conditions of life lending themselves to indulgence in outdoor exercises. No branch of sport is followed with so much enthusiasm for its own sake as football.<sup>108</sup>

Rugby New Zealand style was, however, vastly different from the game in Britain. Amateurism had been adapted and modified to fit into New Zealand society in a functional way. When the game was first introduced to New Zealand (the first game was played at Nelson in 1870), the accompanying amateur ethos was not a strongly defined issue. Therefore, when amateurism was gradually enforced in Britain during the 1880s, the same zeal and need did not develop here owing to New Zealand's isolated position. Amateurism was never pursued to the same extent as in Britain; in fact amateurism (and the resulting issue of professionalism) did not become a serious issue until after the return of the 1905 All Blacks. Yet the hallmarks of the 1905 All Black team – training, specialization, and competition – all clearly showed how rugby 'down under' had departed from the British

---

<sup>106</sup> John Nauright, "Sport, Manhood and Empire: British Responses to the New Zealand Rugby Tour of 1905", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1991), p.246-7.

<sup>107</sup> Palenski, p. 20, 27; Richardson, p.5.

<sup>108</sup> Warren L. Butterworth, "The Place of Rugby in New Zealand", in J. Hinchcliff, *The Nature and Meaning of Sport in New Zealand*, p.52.

amateur ideal where such things were frowned upon.<sup>109</sup> In New Zealand competition was not seen as something that would produce violence and underhand methods. Training and competition were accepted as a normal and necessary part of the game. It was understood as normal procedure that while on board the ship en route to England the 1905 All Blacks and the 1907 Professional All Blacks (All Golds) would take part in physical exercises and training in order to keep themselves in shape for their forthcoming tours. And during the 1905 British tour the New Zealanders were celebrated in verse:

Our 'two-three-two' formation strong  
 Broke up their feeble packs;  
 They couldn't stand our style ding-dong –  
 They couldn't stop our backs.  
 Our five-eighth cut their tacklers down  
 Like woodman with an axe!

And when 'no-side' was blown, you know,  
 After a struggle hot  
 The Britishers would puff, and blow,  
 And pant, and wheeze, I wot.  
 You see OUR boys were fully trained,  
 The beefy ones were not!<sup>110</sup>

Throughout the 1905 All Black tour much newspaper comment was devoted to the New Zealand wing forward position and scrum formation, both uniquely New Zealand innovations.<sup>111</sup> They had been developed in the mid 1880s and early 1890s, in the North Island by Tom Ellison,<sup>112</sup> and simultaneously in Otago around the same time or earlier. As a consequence of the wing forward position, the 5/8 system was developed along with the 2-3-2

---

<sup>109</sup> For the specific characteristics of the amateur ethos and their relationship to the evolution of Rugby football in England see Eric Dunning & Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*, (Wellington 1979)

<sup>110</sup> The full six-verse poem appears in *The Press*: 25 November 1905, p 11, c 3 (Typesetting same as original).

<sup>111</sup> The All Blacks were frequently accused of breaking the rules, many felt the wing forward position was cheating, "wilful obstruction", because it was seen as being offside – the wing forward was in front of the ball and affecting play when it was with the halfback. (See Palenski, p.25.)

<sup>112</sup> Tom Ellison (1867-1904) was possibly the first Maori lawyer. He was a member of the 1888 Natives team to England and captained the All Blacks in 1893. He was a member of the Wellington RFU management committee and selector, and it was Ellison's motion at the first annual meeting of the NZRFU in 1893 that saw the black jersey and silver fern adopted as NZ's playing uniform. He was also captain of the first team to wear these colours. He later wrote an early coaching manual, entitled, *The Art of Rugby Football* (Wellington 1902). (see R.H. Chester & N.A.C. McMillan, *The Encyclopedia of New Zealand Rugby*, (Auckland 1981).p.67.)

scrum formation, as opposed to the rest of the world who used the 3-2-3 formation. The New Zealand scrum gave obvious benefits to the New Zealanders. The wing forward acted as a second halfback. He was dropped from the scrum (hence a seven-man scrum and not the customary eight) and stood alongside it to allow the halfback to get the pass away. As a result, the backs had more attacking opportunities and so one back from the line of three-quarters was brought up to exploit the situation, thus positioning himself between the halfback and the three-quarter line. F. Childs, a blacksmith from Merivale, came up with the name five-eighths: the player was not a half and not a three quarter, and as he was between the two he must therefore be a five-eighth. But in 1931 the International Rugby Board ruled that three players had to make up the front row of a scrum – a ruling that also caused the demise of the wing forward.<sup>113</sup>

A variety of books written around 1900 to 1908 refer to the 'scientific' approach that was being taken by rugby in New Zealand.<sup>114</sup> Superior organization resulted in greater versatility and the specialized positional play. The roles of all players, their attributes and the functions of the various positions were described and analysed. When A. H. Baskerville wrote his book, *New Zealand Football Methods*, he was simply writing about the game he played. The 'methods' he described were practices that had become entrenched as established forms of play, and which showed the way the game had already changed in New Zealand. Yet the review by the *New Zealand Freelance* was scathing in its criticism:

A.H. Baskerville has written a book on 'NZ Football Methods'. Are these the amateur methods of the past, or the professional methods of the future? At the present moment, Baskerville methods are not much in favour with the adherents of the NZRU. The book may be worth a shilling, but, from the amateur standpoint, the methods are unmentionable.<sup>115</sup>

This review (written in August 1907) was obviously influenced by the news of the professional tour. Baskerville's book had been written about the rugby game at the time;

---

<sup>113</sup> Nauright, p.247-8; Palenski, p.25-6

<sup>114</sup> T. Ellison, *The Art of Rugby Football*, (Wellington 1902); D. Gallaher and W.J. Stead, *The Complete Rugby Footballer*, (London 1906); A.H. Baskerville, *Modern Rugby Football. New Zealand Football Methods*, (London, 1907).

<sup>115</sup> *The New Zealand Freelance* 17 August 1907, p 4, c.4.

certainly not about the Northern Union game. Besides, at that time Baskiville did not even have a copy of the Northern Union rules. The methods described in his book were a reflection of the way the rugby game in New Zealand had progressed and diverged from its English roots.

As previously mentioned, professionalism was not a serious issue in New Zealand until Baskiville broke the status quo by openly paying his players from the profits of their tour. Gillett commented that many players could not see any difference in principle, between paying the 1905 All Blacks 21/- (£1-1-0) a week while they were on tour and paying the present team £2 a week while on tour. In New Zealand, society understood amateurism to specifically mean 'not being paid'.<sup>116</sup> Direct payment for playing rugby football was strictly prohibited. But payment for travel and living expenses to cover costs while on tour was a different matter altogether, and was acceptable in colonial eyes. And within this context there was a lot of room to manoeuvre. One of the more interesting aspects to this is that teams and players were at liberty to endorse commercial products and write books about their exploits, without fear of repercussion re monetary transgressions of the amateur laws. Gallaher and Stead were paid £100 to write their 270 page book, *The Complete Rugby Footballer*, in 1906. This book was written in a week and was finished just before they left for the American leg of the return journey home. The All Blacks sponsored, amongst other things, Cadbury's cocoa and B.D.V. cigarettes.<sup>117</sup> Also, despite Rugby Union denials, it was common knowledge that some of the top players in the country were being offered inducements to keep them playing for certain teams. This was quite common, even though it seemed to be a flagrant breach of the professional laws. A reporter for *Truth* remarked:

why should we harp on so much on the necessity for keeping the sport clean when it is a well-known fact that for years past, in this city alone, professionalism has been rampant, that prominent players have been kept by clubs all the season through, and that a levy has been struck of so much per head in order to give the said players some additional recompense for their services. The writer knows of one player who came to Wellington from the

---

<sup>116</sup> Geoff Vincent, "Practical Imperialism: The Anglo-Welsh Rugby Tour of New Zealand, 1908", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.15, No.1. (April 1998), p.128.

<sup>117</sup> Nauright, p. 251; Palenski, p. 107.

South with a mighty reputation many years ago, who was sustenanced by a club for a whole season and paid a decent wage in addition. . . . There have been numerous instances of a like nature in recent years, and the players concerned had about as much kindly feeling for honest toil as the devil has for holy water.<sup>118</sup>

So when Councillor Castle of the Petone Borough Council questioned, "Who is to say where professionalism begins?" he was just one of many.<sup>119</sup>

Why, though, did the New Zealand public view the All Golds tour as professional, when it was doing the same sort of things (payment for expenses) that the 1905 All Blacks had done? Where did the 'professional' tag come from? The first use of the term seems to have been in comments made by the secretary of the NZRU, Mr. E. Wylie, as reported in the *New Zealand Herald*:

As we subscribe to the English Rugby Union (strictly amateur) it is impossible for any New Zealand players to play against the Northern Union men without coming under the ban of our professionalism laws (meaning life disqualification). Any tour arranged must be purely on professional lines and would not, I feel sure, have the sanction of the New Zealand Union.<sup>120</sup>

From this time on, most statements used the term 'professional', with its connotation of players paid money to play the game. Possibly the rumour about a syndicate providing funds to finance the scheme, also played a part. Regardless of any explanations about the expenses, the 'professional' tag remained. Perhaps the consequent Rugby Union stance was understandable in that the team were breaking ranks by playing the Northern Union.

The amateur / professional divide in New Zealand was rather hazy. The 1905 All Blacks (lauded for their amateur status) returned via North America, *paid for by the New Zealand Government!* So strict amateurism, while a noble idea, was not practised even by the NZRU itself. What the members of the NZRU really wished to preserve was their own comfortable positions of power. Amateurism, New Zealand style, was a convenient way to go about it. Also, this particular tour posed a threat to their power. The team intended to call

---

<sup>118</sup> *Truth* 25 May 1907, p.3, c.2.

<sup>119</sup> *EP*: 11 June 1907, p.2, c.8.

<sup>120</sup> *NZH*. 27 April 1907, p.8, c.2.



itself 'All Blacks'; it was composed of NZRU players; and they intended to play the Northern Union clubs who had split from the English Rugby Union. Should the Home Unions' feel that the NZRU was supporting the tour, they could well consider cutting ties with the NZRU, thus isolating New Zealand from the rest of the Rugby world.

An article written by the sports-writer in *Truth* summed up the Rugby Union's attempt to make the players sign the declaration:

That document originally drawn up by the committee bore the impression that its members had certainly taken leave of their senses for the time being. What a noble action it was on their part to insert a clause in which players were invited to act the part of a spy and informer – the dirtiest, and most low-down proposal that has ever emanated from any athletic body in the British dominions. The Dixon-cum-Wylie-cum-'Gally' push saw terrible retribution would overtake them when the real meaning of the clause dawned upon the footballers of this colony, and they made haste to delete the obnoxious regulations. . . .

The New Zealand Union appears to have a very exalted idea of its own powers in regard to the infliction of punishment on refractory players, but I am fortified by legal opinion when I say that the Union would probably come out second best in the courts were it to attempt to 'put up' any one of the crowd who refused to append their signature to this now historic document. There is nothing in the by-laws of the Union that would justify the executive in dealing out punishment in the present instance. The players who decline to fall in line with the committee's wishes have not infringed any of its regulations, consequently they can't be punished for an offence which they have never committed.

Since the NZRU is taking such repressive measures to preserve the amateur status of our footballers it might be as well if it started putting its own house in order before commencing operations elsewhere. According to the strict interpretation of the laws of professionalism, as defined by the English Rugby Union, Dixon, 'Gally' and Wylie are tarred with the same brush that has been applied to certain individuals who have been disqualified for life in this colony for offences coming under the head of professionalism. Each of the above named have, at different times, been the recipients of money voted for alleged services, whilst connected with a football association – the NZRU, to wit, and it cannot be lost sight of that Dixon, in years past was in receipt of a salary, as secretary, from the Auckland Rugby Union. What is 'sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander', and before Dixon and Co. start to proclaim from the housetops their desire to purge the sport of the professional element they should see that their own dealings with the Union are fair, square and above board in the amateur sense.<sup>121</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> *Truth* 1 June 1907, p.3, c.3-4.

Many top Rugby Union players had no sense of wrong doing about receiving 'expenses' when playing rugby. The whole issue of amateurism versus professionalism simply had not arisen.

In New Zealand there was some discontent about the way the Rugby Union was handling the game. The 1905 All Blacks had returned with a profit of £9,500, but this was not being used for the development of the game – to buy grounds, or for medical insurance for the players. George Gillett <sup>122</sup> stated:

No one can understand why the Rugby Union should be so mean. They hold their thousands of pounds in the bank, where they are neither doing the game nor the individual player any good. <sup>123</sup>

Gillett felt that the NZRU was growing rich from the profits the players provided, and that it was time they received something back. It was asserted by Gillett that George Smith became a professional footballer simply because he was disgusted by the treatment meted out to him by the NZRU. He could not get management to settle a 9/- account. Gillett went on to say that the reason why players were changing over to play Northern Union was "principally owing to the rampant dissatisfaction of players at the treatment they have received from the management of the rugby union game in New Zealand." But Gillett's comments did not reflect how most rugby players felt about the NZRU. While many All Blacks had given over a decade of service to the game without any financial rewards other than 'expenses', most would have considered this quite acceptable. But no doubt there were some who would have benefited from greater financial remuneration.

The allowance of 3/- a day given to those playing rugby while away on overseas tours, was inadequate for some players. It was less than many working men's wages would have been, and although some players sent home what they could to their families, it certainly would not have covered any kind of emergency. Indeed many of the All Blacks *themselves*

---

<sup>122</sup> George Gillett (1877-1956) All Black 1905-08, switched to league 1911 and toured England. Retired 1912. Became full-time organizer for code in the North Island and established league in Wellington and Thames. Later reinstated to RU and became a national selector. (see Chester & McMillan, p.79 )

<sup>123</sup> This and the following quote from an interview with the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 2 December 1911, are quoted in Bernard Wood (ed), *Lion Red Rugby League Annual 1996*, p 103-4.

criticized their allowance, referring to themselves as "three-bob-a-day men." In 1901, the average weekly wage for those in factories and works in New Zealand was 31/5.<sup>124</sup> This would be based on a 5½ day week. However, the touring 'allowance' probably compensated single men very nicely indeed, especially as accommodation and food were provided as well.

For some players the lack of compensation must have been a worry. Medical expenses and touring allowances were, respectively, non-existent and meagre. If a player got injured, he had to pay his own medical expenses, and if his injuries were serious enough to be off work, he then had no income. However, for many middle-class players, such as those in the All Golds team, this would not have been such an issue. The nature of their work meant that many could possibly continue working even if injured. In England a player insurance scheme was started in 1891, but it was only available if the player or his club could afford the premiums. The NZRU at this time did not have an insurance scheme operating, although in Canterbury in 1904 there were moves to have one instated.

There was some discontent about Rugby Union selection policies, and the stifling of players' own ambitions and interests in the game. While men play rugby firstly because they like the game, many players aspire to play top level rugby. So there were frustrations amongst some of the top provincial players who had either just missed national selection, or after having been selected once, were then overlooked. The opportunity to prove themselves in England was a real attraction. Those players who had not been selected for the 1905 tour saw Baskiville's tour as a chance to go to England and follow in the All Blacks' illustrious footsteps. Those who had been in the 1905 All Black team, but had not had the opportunity to play the top clubs in England – those in Lancashire and Yorkshire – saw it as the fulfilment of an ambition. The chance to travel overseas must have been attractive. Possibly a few players saw it as an opportunity to forge a career by playing professional football in

---

<sup>124</sup> T.A. Coghlan, *A Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand*, (Sydney 1904).

England.<sup>125</sup> This idea may have sounded like a good way to secure their future. However, the prospect of being paid to play as professionals in New Zealand after the tour was not realistic. Even in England payment was poor, with players often requiring jobs to supplement the money they received as professional players.

So it can be seen that Baskiville's planned tour brought to the fore a whole new issue for New Zealand Rugby, and the general public alike. Baskiville's motives were entrepreneurial. He had no pressure groups pushing him, nor was he trying to create any kind of reform in the rugby game. Instead, he had come up with a great idea that would enable the best New Zealand rugby players to play against the best rugby players England had to offer. It just so happened that those players played Northern Union rugby.

The NZRU reaction to the news was to paint the whole issue in a negative light, and use the professional versus amateur issue to do this. Baskiville believed that they were amateurs because they were following the same sort of rules that applied to the Australian Cricket players and the 1905 All Blacks. The problem arose because the Northern Union was a professional body, and Rugby Union rules said that anyone who played against the professionals would be classed as professional themselves, and would therefore be banned from playing any further rugby union. The NZRU really had no choice but to take this stance, otherwise the ERU would accuse it of condoning professionalism.

Because of the way New Zealand had developed as a colony, the class structure of society was much more egalitarian than that of England. Consequently, the game of rugby and its players also reflected this aspect of society. The broad mix of middle-class and working-class men who could be found playing together in one team, along with the way training and specialization had developed, are proof of this. While there was some discontent

---

<sup>125</sup> Haynes, pp 38-40; Cross was a surprise omission from the 1905 team, and Turtill, Watkins and Wrigley had also represented New Zealand in 1905. (see Chester & McMillan.) For 1905 All Black team lists see Appendix D:2.

among players about some aspects of the game, this was relatively minor, and it concerned individual players rather than groups.

## CHAPTER 3.

### A WORKING-CLASS REVOLT: IMPACT OF THE ALL GOLDS IN AUSTRALIA.

On 20 July 1907, *The New Zealand Herald* broke the news to New Zealand that a professional Rugby Union, destined to affiliate to the English Northern Rugby Union, was being formed in Sydney. The reporter questioned Baskiville about the rumour, to which he replied that he had been 'cognisant of the fact for some time past'. He went on to say that a few Australian enthusiasts had made a proposal to him regarding the New Zealand professional team playing in Sydney on its way to England. Baskiville informed the reporter that negotiations were still proceeding, but if guarantees and assurances were satisfactory, then no doubt the Australian public would have the opportunity of seeing the All Black professionals play.

Criticism of the Rugby Union and player discontent in Australia were fuelled by the news of the New Zealand professional team to tour England. Speculation was rife when *The Bulletin* reported that

the idea of professional football proves very alluring to a number of people in Sydney, and some NSW capitalists are considering the question of organizing three or four professional teams to play in and around the big Australian cities.<sup>126</sup>

The NSW capitalist in question was Mr. James J. Giltinan, a well-known businessman and cricket umpire, and friend of George Smith.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>126</sup> *The Bulletin* 25 July 1907, p.24, c 2

<sup>127</sup> James Joseph Giltinan (1886-1950) is remembered as being the founding father of Rugby League in Australia (as Baskiville is in New Zealand). Giltinan was a prominent cricket umpire, a business man, and entrepreneur. He financially guaranteed the All Golds games in Australia, was the first secretary of the NSWRL, and was bankrupted as a result of the 1908 Kangaroo tour to England. (see Ian Heads, *True Blue* (Randwick 1992), p.24-5.)

Some of the 1905 All Blacks had seen a few Northern Union games while they were on tour in England. George Smith,<sup>128</sup> who believed that the rugby code needed an overhaul, told enthusiastic stories about the Northern Union game to many of his friends in Sydney. This helped to encourage a large group of players in Sydney to break away from the Rugby Union. Prominent amongst those friends in Sydney were J.J. Giltinan and Peter Moir. When Smith telegraphed Peter Moir, a leading Sydney player, asking if a series of games was possible, the subsequent cogs in the wheel of the professionalization of Australasian Rugby fell into place. News of the New Zealand tour to England inspired Giltinan, and Moir confirmed that the Australians would play against New Zealand.<sup>129</sup> Helping Giltinan was international cricketer and sports store owner, Victor Trumper, along with Harry Hoyle, a former railway employee and Labor politician. Together they set about organizing the formation of a professional rugby league.<sup>130</sup>

*The Daily Telegraph*, on 3 August 1907, stated that

it is almost common property now that on August 17, 21, and 24, the visitors will be engaging in a combat with teams respectively from Eastern Suburbs, South Sydney, and Glebe. It will cause some sense of disappointment to those who have followed the game for the game's sake to learn that prominent players – indeed, some who have been lauded to the Rugby skies for their loyalty to the club and cause – have climbed down from the dizzy height of their elevation to pick berries from the professional ground bush. Several men who it is said had previously announced their determination to spurn the international cap or the inter-State cap in order that their clubs might top the list in the amateur competitions are out for the gate.<sup>131</sup>

Agitation was fuelled by reports such as this in the newspapers. However, such was the discontent with the New South Wales Rugby Union (NSWRU) that large numbers of players

---

<sup>128</sup> George William Smith (1874-1954) was one of New Zealand's most outstanding athletes. Not only an All Black, he turned to league after being overlooked for the All Blacks in 1907 and was appointed vice-captain of the All Golds. He later signed with Oldham in England. George was also a jockey in his early career and was a champion sprinter and hurdler – an extraordinary all-round sportsman. (see Chester & McMillan, *The Encyclopedia of New Zealand Rugby*, (Auckland 1981), p.182.)

<sup>129</sup> Eric Bennetts, *Rugby League Annual 1933*, (Auckland 1933), p 19; John Haynes, *From All Blacks to All Golds*, (Christchurch 1996), pp 61, 63; Jack Pollard (ed), *This is Rugby League*, (Wellington 1962), p.120.

<sup>130</sup> *Sydney Referee*: 21 August 1907, p.10, c.5; Murray Phillips, "Football, Class and War: The Rugby Codes in New South Wales, 1907-1918", in Nauright & Chandler (ed), *Making Men. Rugby and Masculine Identity*, (London 1996), p.162; Heads, p.20.

<sup>131</sup> *New Zealand Herald (NZH)*: 5 August 1907, p.5, c.3.

volunteered to play against the New Zealanders, even though to do so was to risk disqualification. There were even comments in the papers by club officials stating that whole teams would go over if the new game was organized properly, especially if players would be getting a better deal than at present. Rumours were rife that seven or eight clubs were about to be formed for a professional competition starting next year.<sup>132</sup>

As the dominant football code in New South Wales, Rugby enjoyed widespread support from all sections of society, as well as the luxury of a supportive press and the organizational structure of a game well established for over fifty years. Rugby in Sydney was booming. The NSWRU and the Metropolitan Rugby Union (MRU) which controlled the Sydney district competitions, were both wealthy organizations.<sup>133</sup> Some members of these controlling bodies became concerned that clubs might vote to use the accumulated funds for club use. This fear made them decide to sink some of their money into purchasing Epping racecourse, thus removing the temptation. The 1907 purchase of the racecourse for £15,000, by the NSWRU did not meet with approval from either the public or the rugby clubs. Because rugby funds were used this way, many players felt hard done by and resentful. It was commonly felt that the Union should have been spending money on clubs and the upkeep and maintenance of grounds, rather than sinking it into a racecourse which was seen by many as not only unsuitable, but also (according to one man prominently connected with the unions) "little better than a fowlyard".<sup>134</sup>

While the Unions were amassing huge amounts of money, the players, who were doing all the hard work, were out of pocket. Officially players had to pay their own way to grounds, and buy their own club jerseys. If a player got injured during a game (which often happened) and was unable to work, that was his problem. There was no help if he lost wages or had to pay medical expenses. The NSWRU had withdrawn an earlier medical-aid

---

<sup>132</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald (SMH)*: 5 August 1907, p 7, c 7.; 6 August 1907, p.7, c 7; p.8, c.1-2.

<sup>133</sup> Chris Cunneen, "The Rugby War" in Cashman & McKernan, *Sport in History*, (Queensland 1979), p.293; Phillips, *Football, Class & War*, p.160

<sup>134</sup> *SMH*: 6 August 1907, p.8, c.1-2.



assistance and had transferred responsibility for injured players to the clubs. However, according to a report in the paper, "under extreme pressure, the Union altered this a month ago when a medical fund was started, and doctors fees were paid, and the injured player received £1 a week while incapacitated".<sup>135</sup> While all this would have been of little consequence to most middle-class players, the situation for working-class players was quite different. Touring allowances of 3/- a day were not enough, for working-class families whose sole income was derived from one man's wages.<sup>136</sup> A family man still had to keep paying rent and food for the family while he was away on tour. Short tours, such as interstate games, would also affect wages, which single, working-class men would also notice, as they too would still have to pay rent.

With regard to shamateurism being widely practised, and the news that professional rugby was a possibility, the secretary of one of the leading metropolitan clubs, in an interview with the *Sydney Morning Herald*, said:

That's no new movement. We've had professionalism in Sydney football for years. Everybody knows it. All the club officials know it, the Union knows it, but they can't prove it, and to save trouble they don't try, much. Why, nearly every club pays directly or indirectly for the service of one or two men each Saturday.<sup>137</sup>

And the *St George Call* later added its bit in exposing the sham by editorialising on 17 August 1907:

The weak-kneed thunder that the Union employ towards the players they dub 'professionals' is ludicrous to those who know of some recent proceedings. It is an open secret that these very 'amateur' bodies were accessories to, if not the actual offerers of a handsome sum to a NSW player to go up and play in a Test match at Brisbane. It is also known ('unofficially' it is conveniently pleaded) that certain clubs find billets and even pay for the players they want; and as for providing jerseys there is probably hardly a competition club that does not do this 'dastardly act!' They are, however, 'all amateurs' because the Union openly disclaims any knowledge of such practices, yet permits them to exist.<sup>138</sup>

---

<sup>135</sup> see *SMH*: 6 August 1907, p.8, c.1.

<sup>136</sup> *SMH*: 6 August 1907, p.7, c.7 – p.8, c.1-2; Cunneen, p.295, Heads, p.22; Murray Phillips, "Rugby", in Vamplew & Stoddart (ed), *Sport in Australia*, (Cambridge 1994), p.197.

<sup>137</sup> *SMH*: 6 August 1907, p.8, c.1.

<sup>138</sup> Quoted in Heads, p.19.

We need to recognize that the 'handsome sums' quoted above would be available for a few 'star' players only. The main bulk of players would certainly not fit into this category.

The 'niggardly' policies of the Metropolitan Union were further highlighted by its desire for gate money. Many felt this Union was killing local rivalry, by moving the higher profile games away from the districts and onto the Sydney Cricket Ground where they would get more money. This of course had an adverse affect on local grounds which needed to be maintained, and which relied upon local players being able to draw the paying crowds to boost club coffers. 'A gentleman prominently connected with one of the unions' thought it would be 'a very good thing for the clubs if a certain percentage of the takings were handed over to them'. The Union's 'greed' and lack of financial concern for players was seen by many as one of the reasons why professional rugby was able to get established.<sup>139</sup>

Giltinan set about organizing the new movement in Sydney from the Market Street sports store run by Victor Trumper. What was to eventuate was vastly different from Baskiville's entrepreneurial venture in New Zealand. Those present at the Sydney meetings were the core organizers of the game in Australia – Giltinan, Peter Moir, Henry Hoyle, Alec Burdon, Jack Feneley and Trumper himself, as well as Jim Moir, Dick Burdon, Arthur Hennessy and Bob Graves.<sup>140</sup> After many meetings held at Trumper's store, the details were finalized, and all the speculation and rumour was confirmed when on the evening of 8 August 1907, a meeting was held at Bateman's Crystal Hotel. It resulted in the formation of the New South Wales Rugby Football League (NSWRL). About 50 people were present, with all the Sydney Rugby Union clubs being represented except for University, Manly and Western Suburbs – eight clubs in total. The gathering voted Henry Hoyle president, Giltinan secretary and Victor Trumper treasurer. At the beginning of the meeting, all the players present were called upon to sign a document agreeing to play New Zealand in a series of matches:

---

<sup>139</sup> *SMH* 6 August 1907, p.8, c.2; 7 August 1907, p 9, c.4.

<sup>140</sup> Cunneen, p.296; Heads, pp 28, 33.

I, \_\_\_\_\_, hereby agree, if selected by the controllers, to play Rugby football against the New Zealand professional team at Sydney in any or all of the three matches on August 17, 21, and 24 next respectively. <sup>141</sup>

Giltinan revealed that he had already written to England to arrange for a New South Wales team to visit Yorkshire in 1908, and for a reciprocal visit of a Northern Union team to play in Australia and New Zealand in 1909. <sup>142</sup>

During the meeting it was decided to form a selection committee to choose a team for the matches against New Zealand. The committee included three captains of first-grade clubs. This meeting was very secret, and newspapers did not report that it had taken place until two days later. The team was not officially announced until a few days before the first game, because those players involved would have been prevented from playing in the final rounds of the grade competitions. 150 to 160 players had indicated they would join the new movement, but many wanted to see out the remainder of the season with their present clubs. <sup>143</sup> Those players who did sign to play rugby league were facing an uncertain future. They risked not only lifetime disqualification from the Rugby Union, but also their careers and friends. Many were threatened with losing their jobs (in fact some did lose their jobs for turning professional), while many long-time friendships were destroyed as a direct result of these men's decisions to play a different game. <sup>144</sup>

A constitution was also drafted, which accepted the rules of the Northern Rugby Union (England) and was concerned with protecting the financial security of the players. <sup>145</sup> An article in the *New Zealand Referee*, quoting from a Sydney cable, stated:

The Professional League has adopted a code of laws which include payment of players at a rate not exceeding 10s per day for loss of time or salary, with 7s 6d a day when playing outside, and 5s when playing inside their own State, for personal expenses. They also provide for medical expenses, and £2 a week

---

<sup>141</sup> *SMH*, 12 August 1907, p 10, c.8.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, 6 August 1907, p 8, c.2.; 10 August 1907, p.14, c.6.; 12 August 1907, p.10, c.8, Cunneen, p.296.

<sup>143</sup> *SMH*, 7 August 1907, p.9, c.4., 17 August 1907, p.13, c.7; Heads, p.33-34;

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*, p.41

<sup>145</sup> Phillips, *Rugby*, p.197.

while any injured player is incapacitated from following his usual occupation.<sup>146</sup>

A Referees' Association in connection with the new league was formed on 28 August. It decided to adopt the rules of the New South Wales Rugby Union Referees' Association, but with increased remuneration. This would entitle referees to receive uniforms, travelling expenses and out of pocket expenses, just like the players.<sup>147</sup>

Basically the League, as it became known, was formed as a protest against the unfair conditions which rugby players were subject to, as previously mentioned. The aim of the league to put players' welfare first and pay compensation won many over. Alec Burden's plight had been the catalyst for Victor Trumper<sup>148</sup> to get involved and help organize plans to form the Rugby League. He was astounded that rugby players were not compensated like cricketers. Burdon had broken his collar bone playing against the All Blacks in July 1907 and was out unable to work for 10 weeks. He joined the League in protest at the Union's unwillingness to pay for time lost and medical expenses for his injury. Other players followed his example.<sup>149</sup>

However, it was the securing of H.H. Messenger that assured the success of the initial League. Many more players followed his example and agreed to play. Herbert Henry (Dally) Messenger was the most talented and well-known Australian Rugby Union player of the period. He was an exceptional kicker, as well as being fast, fit and tough.<sup>150</sup> Leading up to the games against New Zealand, there was much speculation that several members of the Australian team would go over to join the new game, and that Messenger was one of them. Messenger, Baskiville and Giltinan all denied that Messenger was going to join the

---

<sup>146</sup> *New Zealand Referee*. 6 November 1907, p.61, c 3

<sup>147</sup> *SMH*. 13 August 1907, p 7, c 6.; 29 August 1907, p.7, c.5.

<sup>148</sup> Victor Trumper was one of Australia's greatest cricketers (a batsman). He was well respected in the community and owned sporting stores in Market Street and then in George Street. He was a key figure in the beginnings of Rugby League in Australia (see Heads, p.28-9.)

<sup>149</sup> Bennetts, p.27; Heads, p 23, 26; Phillips, *Rugby*, p 197; Phillips, *Football, Class & War*, p.161; Pollard, p.120; Alan Whitticker and Ian Collis, *Rugby League Test Matches in Australia*, (Sydney 1994), p.11.

<sup>150</sup> Haynes, p.76; Phillips, *Rugby*, p 197

professional team, or that he would be paid to do so. At the time, Messenger was playing in the Rugby Union Tests against the (amateur) All Blacks. Messenger, on being confronted with the rumour that he intended to join the professionals, told a *Sydney Morning Herald* reporter on 5 August:

There is nothing in it as far as I am concerned. I have had no communication with or from the organisers of the team. The rumour that I have joined the team is untrue, and you may contradict it flatly.<sup>151</sup>

But Messenger's subsequent switch to League was vitally important for the new code in Australia. He gave it both credibility and crowd drawing power. The story goes that it was Dally's mother, Annie Messenger, who decided that he should go and play in the new breakaway game, and according to Dally's grandson, £180 was offered to Messenger to switch codes.<sup>152</sup>

Giltinan stated that his aim for the new league was to help improve the game of football by working for the best interests of both the players and the game. In many interviews given to newspapers at the time, Giltinan stated the plans and benefits that he had in mind for the new game. He pointed out that by joining the professional movement, players would actually be losing little and gaining much. He explained that although "in [England] the professional footballer can absolutely live on the game, . . . he won't be able to do that here."<sup>153</sup> As a result of this, the League would fully insure all players against accident, as well as pay for playing and training expenses, and for any loss of time from work, so that players were not out of pocket. Giltinan also said, "at the end of each season the players will probably be given bonuses, according to the results achieved in the matter of gate money."<sup>154</sup> Old footballers were not to be forgotten either: they would be given jobs on the gates and some of them would become line umpires. Giltinan also stated that when the League got strong enough, it would establish pensions for players. Gate money and profits would not be

---

<sup>151</sup> *SMH*: 5 August 1907, p.7, c.7.

<sup>152</sup> Dally Messenger, *The Master: The Story of H.H. "Dally" Messenger and the Beginning of Australian Rugby League*, (Sydney 1982), quoted in Heads, p.46,

<sup>153</sup> *SMH*: 6 August 1907, p.7, c.7.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid*

split among the players but would be put back into the sport.<sup>155</sup> As a result of the more serious training that would be required, the standard of the game would improve and provide more interest and more patronage from the paying public. This would also force the amateur game to improve, as it would have to keep up with what the league was doing in order to remain competitive. Giltinan wrote in a letter to the editor:

If a new union is prepared to give the clubs under its wing better treatment, then the present union must follow suit. The consequence would be that Rugby would soon be on an improved wicket all round. Still keener interest would be aroused, and the game would be more liberally patronized.<sup>156</sup>

Giltinan and Trumper did not see why the Rugby League could not be run along the same lines as international cricket, as League players would be no more professionals than cricketers. In fact, there was more reason to be a professional in football than in cricket, as the players ran more risks than did cricketers. The fact that cricket recompensed players for loss of salary had not detrimentally affected the game in either Australia or England. In England professionals played alongside amateurs, with the result that the standard of the game had been raised. Giltinan hastened to point out that there was no reason why football players should not be compensated likewise, especially as the majority of those who played football needed to be strong and burly and were therefore usually from the working class. Also, it would encourage more men to take-up the sport, especially those who previously could not afford to play in case they became injured and were unable to work. Three shillings a day was not fair remuneration for loss of hard earned wages, should they get injured and be laid up for weeks without work.<sup>157</sup>

The Rugby Union in reply to this secession did nothing. Officials professed that they were not alarmed about the possibility of professional football being introduced to Australia. But judging by their actions at later stages, it seems quite probable that they had concerns. In an effort to find out how far members of the public were behind the amateur game, the MRU

---

<sup>155</sup> *SMH* 6 August 1907, p.7, c 7 ; 13 August 1907, p 7, c.6., 14 August 1907, p.9, c 5 ; 16 August 1907, p.7, c.6.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid*, 13 August 1907, p 7, c 6

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid*, 6 August 1907, p.8, c.1-2.

threatened to move the final of its first-grade matches to the same day as the second of the professional matches being held at the Agricultural Ground.<sup>158</sup> However, according to advertizing for the games in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the semi-finals of the MRU competition were played around this time.<sup>159</sup> J.A. Paton, secretary for the Eastern Suburbs Rugby Club, and member of the Management Committee of the MRU, said: "I guess the thing won't last. The public will stick to the amateurs, even if they didn't give them the best football. There will not be sufficient money in [professional rugby], and, furthermore, the scheme will eventually break down for want of players. . . ." <sup>160</sup>

The NSWRU did nothing about the professional movement until after the professional games had been played, preferring to let the MRU take action and report back.<sup>161</sup> Of course, according to the rules relating to professionalism, a player could not be called a professional unless he played with professionals, so it wasn't until after the games that the players could be disqualified. These disqualifications extended throughout New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, and New Zealand.<sup>162</sup> In this respect the NSWRU followed the New Zealand lead, although the NZRU was much more concerned about the potential threat to its monopoly of rugby than was the NSWRU, as evidenced by the declarations the New Zealand players were required to sign. The NSWRU declared that it was satisfied that its players were free from 'the taint of professionalism' and would not fall into the same error as the NZRU by asking its players to sign a declaration.<sup>163</sup>

However, like their counterparts in New Zealand and England, the Sydney Unions believed that any game played on a purely monetary basis would do incalculable harm, especially to young players. They felt that professional football would ruin the sport, which

---

<sup>158</sup> *SMH*: 7 August 1907, p.9, c.4.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid*, 17 August 1907, p.3, c 1-2; 24 August 1907, p 3, c.2-3

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid*, 6 August 1907, p.7, c.7.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid*, 20 August 1907, p 7, c.3 ; 21 August 1907, p.9, c.4.

<sup>162</sup> *NZH* 20 August 1907, p.5, c.4 ; *SMH*: 14 August 1907, p.9, c 5, Cunneen, p 297.

<sup>163</sup> *NZH*. 28 June 1907, p 5, c 5; *SMH*: 8 August 1907, p.7, c.7

would then cease to be a game in the accepted sense.<sup>164</sup> The editorial in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 6 August espoused this view, stating that

Amateurship is not recognized for the sacrosanct thing it is. The moment a money interest enters a game it begins to fall a prey to a host of evils. . . . In football especially professionalism has proved a curse wherever it has been allowed to get the upper hand. It destroys the instinct of legitimate sportsmanship very quickly for the player, and it teaches the onlooker as quickly to mistake the 'play' for a contest of gladiators – hired at that. The best thing about our English sports, apart from their intrinsic healthfulness, is that they maintain for us in after-life the traditions of the great public school, and extend those traditions into every grade of society. But that indefinable sportsmanship ever withers at the taint of professionalism.<sup>165</sup>

Up until 1905, and possibly later, the editors of the *Sydney Morning Herald* were all 'imported' from England. This helps to explain their strong bias towards the amateur ethos.

Those within the administration of the Rugby Union firmly believed in the intrinsic right of amateurism, and were neither prepared nor willing to see the problems that this created for players who were of working class origin. The upper levels of rugby administration remained firmly in the control of the privileged classes, who displayed a very inflexible approach to the needs of a game which in Australia catered for men from all walks of life.<sup>166</sup> There were, however, a few officials who could see the value of having professional football in both New Zealand and Australia. Mr. Lewis G. Abrams, one of the delegates from the Glebe Club to the MRU, was one such man. He was strongly in favour of professionalism and could see no difference between playing football for money and playing cricket for money. In an interview, Mr. Abrams stated that he thought it was 'far better to be a straight-out professional than an amateur who with his bill of expenses got three times as much as the despised professional'. In his opinion, the Union was responsible for the strong support the professional movement received, and he believed that if the Union had not been

---

<sup>164</sup> *SMH* 6 August 1907, p.7, c.7; *Sydney Referee*: 7 August 1907, p.10, c.1

<sup>165</sup> *SMH* 6 August 1907, p.6, c.4

<sup>166</sup> Phillips, *Rugby*, p.196.



so niggardly with its funds, but had treated the players a little more liberally, many players would have shown more loyalty.<sup>167</sup>

Mr. J.A. Paton was interviewed in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 6 August 1907. He personally believed that champion footballers should be entitled to earn their money if the professional game was organized properly. But he also firmly believed that

professional football would ruin the sport. It would cease to be a game in the accepted sense, and would go the way of all sports that money had controlled in this country. He for one would decidedly have nothing to do with it.

Paton later commented upon the prospect of the Union taking control of both forms of the game, something which he saw as

altogether impossible. The moment we had anything to do with professionalism we would sever all connection with the English and New Zealand Unions, so we daren't do it.<sup>168</sup>

But the threat of professionalism did cause the Sydney Unions to consider changes to the Rugby rules a lot sooner than their counterparts in New Zealand. Near the end of August a special general meeting of the MRU was held to consider a motion by Mr. Abrams who proposed "broken-time" payments for players absent from work because of football; payment of wages to injured players who were off work; and a rise to 5/- a day out-of-pocket expenses for players on playing duties with their clubs or their state. The Rugby Union head body procrastinated over whether it should, or could, increase expenses to its players. Such was the importance of Mr. Abrams' proposals that two of the strongest sticklers for "pure" amateurism cut short a trip to Brisbane in order to specifically vote against the motion.<sup>169</sup> The chairman, Mr. H.D. Wood, said it was his duty as president to rule the motion out of order, as

The resolution was not merely an expression of opinion . . . [but] was clearly a direction. It would also mean amending the rules dealing with professionalism, which could only be dealt with by another union [ie., the ERU].

---

<sup>167</sup> *SMH*, 6 August 1907, p.8, c.1.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid*, 6 August 1907, p.7, c.7.

<sup>169</sup> *Heads*, pp 45, 50.

Mr. Abrams in reply stated the union was quite in order in discussing the motion and

it was a matter of such vital importance that . . . discussion should be allowed, so that the public and the players could see that they wanted to do what was right. They were face to face with the greatest crisis in Australian Rugby.<sup>170</sup>

But such calls for reform were overruled. If Abrams' proposal had succeeded, it is fair to say that Rugby League's task of attaining a foothold in Sydney would have been far more difficult. Nevertheless, there was no way to amend the existing amateur constitution without breaking away from the English Rugby Union (ERU), and the MRU was not prepared to do that. The NSWRU, like the NZRU, was criticized for its total reliance on English authorities for rules and regulations, and for its inability to make the game more appealing to spectators. There were suggestions that Australia and New Zealand should present a joint report to the ERU, setting forth the differences in Australasian conditions and the consequent need for change.<sup>171</sup> But if they severed their connection with the ERU they would isolate themselves from world rugby, and that would leave them with only the Northern Union to play against.

The situation in Sydney arose because it was an extremely large urban area where specific working-class areas had developed. Rugby clubs in these areas were therefore composed of working-class men. This large working-class portion of society in Sydney shows up in the occupations of the players who were picked for the New South Wales team. The occupations of 18 of the first 20 players named<sup>172</sup> to be in the team to play against the All Golds in August were as follows: four labourers, two painters, two carpenters, a storeman, a wharfie, a boat builder, a cleaner, a compositor, a clerk, a boilermaker, a journalist, a draper

---

<sup>170</sup> *SMH*: 29 August 1907, p 7, c 5

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid*, 6 August 1907, p.7, c.7., p 8, c.2; 29 August 1907, p.7, c.5.; *Sydney Referee*: 7 August 1907, p.10, c.1.; Cunneen, p.295; Heads, p.50; Phillips, *Rugby*, p.196; Phillips, *Football, Class & War*, p.161. See also Chapter 5, p.114 for New Zealand comparison.

<sup>172</sup> Named in the *SMH*. 13 August 1907, p.7, c.6. were. Backs: C. Headley (Glebe), J. Stuntz (Eastern Suburbs), H. Messenger (Eastern Suburbs), E. Fry (South Sydney), F. Cheadle (Newtown), A. Rosenfeld (Eastern Suburbs), L. D'Alpuget (Eastern Suburbs), W. Farnsworth (Newtown), and J. Hickey (Glebe). Forwards: R. Mable (Eastern Suburbs), A.S. Hennessey (South Sydney), H. Hamill (Newtown), S. Pearce (Eastern Suburbs), P. Moir (Glebe), W. Cann (South Sydney), R.H. Graves (Balmain), H. Brackenrigg (Eastern Suburbs), H. Glanville (North Sydney), A. Dobbs (Balmain), E. Courtney (St. George).

and a tailor.<sup>173</sup> In other words, the Australian players had a ratio of 1:5 middle-class to working-class players, whereas the New Zealanders had a 50/50 split.

The New Zealand All Golds arrived in Sydney on 13 August 1907. Two nights later they were given a warm welcome at a 'smoke concert' held at the Sydney Town Hall. More than 400 people turned out to welcome the team. The NSWRL President, Henry Hoyle, welcomed the All Golds to Sydney. In his speech he explained the objects of the new league:

They had formed their leagues, both here and in New Zealand, as a protest against the unfair conditions under which Rugby players had previously laboured. They believed it was unfair for men to bring thousands of pounds to the gates and then be treated as white slaves. They were doing what they believed to be right, were acting within the four corners of the law, and would trouble the other side to mind its own business. (Applause.) The leagues had been formed to help along football. Out of the gate money the players were to be paid sufficient to keep up the dignity of the game, and their own dignity during their visits to other centres. (Applause.) They felt that they had right on their side, with the public behind them, and were prepared to fight their opponents to the finish. (Applause.) The public would be convinced that the league was in the right, working on straight lines, and in the best interests of the game. (Applause.)

This response was a welcome contrast to the All Golds' departure from New Zealand, where there were no reports of large cheering crowds or encouraging speeches. Harry Palmer, the New Zealand Manager, responded to this fine welcome by thanking the Australians, saying:

the players on their side were not actuated by any mercenary motives. (Cheers.) The Rugby Union in New Zealand had brought the trouble upon itself, and judging by the celerity with which the league had been got together in Sydney he took it they had been treated pretty badly too. (Cheers.) He hoped to see the "All Blues" in New Zealand. Their visit would be a success, and he would be prepared personally to put up a guarantee of £1000.<sup>174</sup>

The three matches were originally planned to be against three club teams – Eastern Suburbs, South Sydney and Glebe. But the support of players from a large number of clubs prompted Giltinan and Co. to aim for a genuine New South Wales team to face the New Zealanders.<sup>175</sup> The All Golds therefore, played against a team called the 'All Blues', who

---

<sup>173</sup> Heads, p.34.

<sup>174</sup> *SMH*: 16 August 1907, p 7, c 6.

<sup>175</sup> Heads, p.42.

wore mid-blue coloured jerseys with a Kangaroo emblem. It was at this time that the New Zealanders were dubbed the 'All Golds', even though they were wearing the All Black playing strip – black jersey with a silver fern. The name 'All Golds' was first coined by the *Sydney Morning Herald* as a headline on 7 August 1907,<sup>176</sup> meant as a derogatory term referring to the team's status as professionals who were 'out for the gate'. The two teams played the three games under Rugby Union rules because at that stage they did not know the Northern Union rules. Baskiville had a copy of the Northern Union rules, but there had not been time to understand the finer points of play. So it was decided to use Rugby Union rules, as both sides were thoroughly familiar with them.

The NSWRU had stated earlier in the week that the professional New South Wales team was 'weak', and without Messenger it was only 'a second-grade side'.<sup>177</sup> The teams for the first test on 17 August were:

#### New Zealand Professionals

Fullback, S. Turtill (Canterbury); three-quarters, E. Wrigley (Wairarapa), L.S. Todd and H. Rowe (Auckland); five-eighths, R. Wynyard (Auckland), D. McGregor (Canterbury); halfback, A. Kelly (Wellington); wing forward, E. Tyne (Wellington); forwards, D. Gilchrist (Wellington), C. Pearce (Canterbury), T. Cross (Wellington), R. "Bumper" Wright (Wellington), C. Byrnes (Wellington), W.H. Mackrell (Auckland), E. Watkins (Wellington).

#### New South Wales Rugby League

Fullback, C. Hedley (Glebe); three-quarters J. Stuntz (Easts), E. Fry (Souths), H. Messenger (Easts), F. Cheadle (Newtown); five-eighth, A. Rosenfeld (Easts); halfback, L. D'Alpuget (Easts); forwards, R. Graves (Balmain), H. Brackenregg (Easts), W.A. Cann (Souths), P. Moir (Glebe), S. Pearce (Easts), H.C. Hamill (Newtown), A.S. Hennessy (Souths), R. Mable (Easts).

Referee: George Boss; touch judges: George Hay and W. Johnstone.<sup>178</sup>

---

<sup>176</sup> *SMH*, 7 August 1907, p.9, c.4.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*, 14 August 1907, p 9, c 5

<sup>178</sup> *Heads*, p.43.

## Plate 2

THE NEW ZEALAND  
PROFESSIONAL  
RUGBY TEAM  
IN SYDNEY.

Source: *The  
Sydney Referee*:  
21 August 1907.



BACK ROW: W. Mackrell, E. Wrigley, W. Tyler, and R. Wynyard. SECOND ROW: T. Cross, C. Pearce, C. Byrne, R. Wright, D. Gilchrist, and E. Watkins.  
THIRD ROW: A. H. Baskiville, E. Tyne, D. McGregor (capt.), H Palmer (manager), L. Todd, S. Turtill, and W. Johnston. FRONT ROW: H. Rowe, J. Gleeson, and A. Kelly.  
Absent: J. Lavery, A. Callam, A. Lile, and W. Trevarthen, besides G. W. Smith, W. Wynyard, and C. Dunning, who have not yet reached Sydney

The All Golds were expected to win and did so 12 points to 8. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported:

Perfect weather conditions for spectator, though a trifle warm for player, and a crowd of 20,000, representing nearly £1000, were the conditions under which the new era in Rugby football was opened in Australasia by a match between the New Zealand team to visit England and a New South Wales 15 at the Agricultural Ground. The result was a win for New Zealand by 12 points to 8. The play created a good deal of enthusiasm from kick off to full time - it was always interesting.<sup>179</sup>

Certainly reports about the games were relatively positive and encouraging, many claiming with surprise that it was a 'clean' game.<sup>180</sup> The second game, played the following Wednesday, was won by New Zealand 19-5. Both teams changed their lineups, playing those who had not played in the first game. Being a mid-week game, it attracted a much smaller crowd, with only about 4000 attending. In the third and last game, played on 24 August, New Zealand again defeated New South Wales. This time, however, the result was much closer, being five points to three. A crowd of between seven and eight thousand people watched this last game by the All Golds in Sydney.<sup>181</sup>

The games were a financial success and created huge publicity for Giltinan's plan for a full district competition starting the following season. He had personally staked the £500 guarantee required of the Australians for the All Golds visit. The gate was to be split evenly 50/50, with the Australians paying 15% of their takings in ground charges, and the remaining 35% going to the players.<sup>182</sup> The takings for the first match amounted to £602, of which the All Golds received £316.<sup>183</sup>

When the team had first arrived in Sydney, Baskiville was asked whether Messenger would be going with them to England. Baskiville had then replied, "How could he go as a

---

<sup>179</sup> *SMH* 19 August 1907, p.5, c.4

<sup>180</sup> For example, see *The Bulletin*: 22 August 1907, p.26, c 1

<sup>181</sup> *Sydney Referee*: 21 August 1907, p.10, c.5-6; 28 August 1907, p.10, c.7-8

<sup>182</sup> Haynes, p.64

<sup>183</sup> *Truth* 24 August 1907.

New Zealander?"<sup>184</sup> Yet the rumours continued. Towards the end of the tour the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported:

Conversations with some of the New Zealanders now in Sydney indicate that if there were a chance of including Messenger in the New Zealand team for England it would probably be done. . . . So strongly do some of the visitors appreciate the Eastern Suburbs man that they are anxious to make him an offer, and it is even asserted in some quarters that he is already in the team.<sup>185</sup>

And so it was. A few days later it was announced:

At length the negotiations which have been proceeding between the New Zealand team and H.H. Messenger . . . have ended, and . . . he joins the team for England, and will play as one of them, share and share alike.<sup>186</sup>

By securing the services of Messenger, Baskerville not only strengthened the New Zealand team for its English tour, but he also helped focus Australian attention upon the new game, thus maintaining interest in the formation of a Sydney competition for 1908.

Before leaving Australia for England, Baskerville and the team undertook a unique task in order to define the responsibilities and duties of the team. By mutual consent, an agreement (see Appendix E) was drawn up and signed by all players in Sydney before they sailed for England. Clause one stated: "The said parties hereto shall form themselves into and be constituted as from the date hereof a combination known as the 'New Zealand All Black Rugby Football Team'."<sup>187</sup> The agreement had 29 clauses. This legal document set out the conditions and duties that the members were to abide by while away on tour. The team members were called "The Combination", and were to be managed by a 'Management Committee', consisting of James Gleeson, Harry Palmer, Albert Henry Baskerville, "Massa" Johnston, Lance Todd, "Bumper" Wright, and Duncan McGregor. These seven men were ultimately responsible for the whole team and the tour, having "the sole and absolute

---

<sup>184</sup> *SMH*. 16 August 1907, p.7, c.6

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid*, 21 August 1907, p.9, c.4.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid*, 24 August 1907, p.14, c.4.

<sup>187</sup> A.H. Baskerville, "Touring Conditions", in *The Dominion*: 10 October 1907, p.5, c.1-3

government of the said combination and all business transactions in connection with the same or the tour of the said combination." <sup>188</sup>

By the time the All Golds left to begin their English tour they numbered 29 players. <sup>189</sup> They had also triggered a revolution in Australian Rugby. The situation in Sydney was very similar to what had taken place in northern England. Sydney too had some large areas of working-class populations where working-class rugby clubs were found. These players also needed financial help in order to play rugby. Rules that would allow compensation for time lost, and for injury would make a big difference to them. The NSWRU's lack of concern for player-welfare, their focus upon amassing large amounts of money, and their failure to address calls for reform, were ingredients that also spurred on officials within the clubs. They too were ready and willing to make changes. Possibly shifting the high profile games away from local areas, and the Epping Racecourse deal had been the 'last straw' for them. It can be seen that the Australian moves were much more than just a player revolt, and were very similar to what had occurred in England. Resentment came from a much wider base than just the working-class players. The formation of Rugby League in Australia was a club revolt, with whole clubs and their associated infrastructures deciding to form a new breakaway game. The All Golds visit had been the catalyst.

Giltinan, like Baskerville, had been the 'front-person' who had set things in motion. But Giltinan was moving towards a type of trade union / friendly society structure – an organizational structure that was class based. Because the NSWRU was unwilling to make any changes in case it incurred the wrath of the ERU, the time was right for Giltinan, the Sydney club officials and the players to make their move. The future development of the game in New Zealand was not an initial driving force behind Baskerville's tour. He had simply organized a sporting tour, a 'big adventure to the Mother Country'.

---

<sup>188</sup> A.H Baskerville, "Touring Conditions".

<sup>189</sup> For full team list see *Sydney Referee* 28 August 1907, p 10, c.6.



## CHAPTER 4.

### CLASH OF THE CODES: THE ALL GOLDS IN BRITAIN.

The coming of the New Zealanders is certain to give an impetus to the latter [Northern Union] game, and whether lovers of amateurism like it or not there may yet be a big spread of the professional movement in this country. Candidly the Northern Union can do with such a fillip, for last season the outlook was not over bright. Still, if the development in South Wales continues, and if the work of these colonial players prove popular, matters may be altogether different, and much support may still be given the code in districts where it had lost hold, not to mention places where it is yet hoped it may make an impression. Time will show. Meantime Rugby Union folk are perplexed by the Colonial problem.<sup>190</sup>

So said a report in the *Athletic News* a few weeks before the New Zealanders arrived to begin the English leg of their tour. The Northern Union was hoping for much from this All Golds visit and saw it as a means to increase and promote the professional game, giving it a much needed boost, just as the 1905 All Black visit had boosted the popularity of rugby.

The Northern Union game was restricted in location to the North of England, and a small developing pocket of interest in Wales. A successful tour would, it was hoped, popularize the Northern Union game, not only in England, but also in New Zealand and Australia, thus enabling international tours to take place. The All Golds tour was historic as well. Never before had an international team come to play against the Northern Union. With the inclusion of the Welsh, the Northern Union looked forward to a new era in the game.

In the Rugby Union camp, articles and comments were firmly against the tour, even before the team landed on English soil. Mr Wray Palliser, the New Zealand representative for the New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU), and Mr. G. Harnett of the English Rugby Union (ERU), were both dismissive of the team, attacking it as being a "phantom team,"

---

<sup>190</sup> *Athletic News (AN)*: 9 September 1907.

**Plate 3**

THE NEW ZEALAND  
PROFESSIONAL  
FOOTBALL TEAM 1907.

Source: Alexander Turnbull  
Library.  
(F-1030-1/4-MNZ.)



**NEW ZEALAND PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL TEAM.**

BACK ROW: Trevarthen, Wright, Johnston, Cross, Lile, Pearce, Fraser.

THIRD ROW: Rowe, Smith, Mackrell, Wrigley, Lavery, Byrne, Gilchrist, Watkins, Gleeson.

SECOND ROW: R. Wynyard, Dunning, Todd, McGregor, Palmer (Manager), Turtill, W. Wynyard.

FRONT ROW: Callum, Tyne, Baskiville, Messenger, Kelly.



unrepresentative of New Zealand Rugby. Wray Palliser was most emphatic in stating that the New Zealand side

will in not the slightest degree represent either the Rugby Union football of New Zealand or the sporting community of the Dominion. . . . [I]f the New Zealand team comes it will be beaten to pieces, or will be allowed to win only on sufferance. . . . [I]t comes with no sort of credit from the Dominion of New Zealand. The Northern Union in the courage of despair . . . was bound to make some kind of sensation to save itself. <sup>191</sup>

And Mr Harnett, in a similar vein a few days later, commented:

the team that is coming over to play the Northern Union is not, and cannot be, a representative side. . . . [The team] has no following in New Zealand at all, and it is an unknown quantity, while the players are those about whom the New Zealanders care nothing and concern themselves less. <sup>192</sup>

*The Times* correspondent stated:

Nor has the attempt to corrupt the working men players of New Zealand been a whit more successful. It is true that some kind of a team of New Zealanders is on its way . . . but it certainly does not include any playes of repute. <sup>193</sup>

The New Zealanders had travelled from Ceylon, where on 13 September 1907 they had played a Ceylonese selection. Rugby Union rules were used, and New Zealand won by 33 points to 6. Marseilles was their next stop, and from there they travelled overland across France, and on to London where they arrived on 30 September 1907. The team was met at Folkestone by the Northern Union Committee, and spent a day in London before travelling to Leeds on the Tuesday.

"The Phantoms" arrived in London to a warm welcome, and began their media commitments. They were quizzed about the development of the professional game in New Zealand and Australia. Baskiville made a very positive statement saying the code had taken a firm hold in Australia, and he predicted that in a couple of seasons "the amateurs would be wiped clean out." He also stated that the game was only in its infancy in New Zealand, and

---

<sup>191</sup> *New Zealand Herald (NZH)*: 21 October 1907, p.5, c.8. (London, 13 September 1907 )

<sup>192</sup> *Sporting Life*: 17 September 1907, quoted in *The Sydney Referee (The Referee)*. 30 October 1907, p.9, c.7-8.

<sup>193</sup> *The Times*: 27 September 1907, quoted in *NZH*: 5 November 1907, p.6, c 5



**THE NEW ZEALAND FOOTBALLERS.**

The "All Black" team from New Zealand, who are to play a series of matches against Northern Union clubs, arrived last evening in Leeds, which will be their head-quarters during the early part of the tour.

**Plate 5**

Source: *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury*: 2 October 1907.

although the public had given them a good send-off, "the New Zealand Union and the Press were against them, calling them all 'scraggs'." <sup>194</sup> Baskiville and Wright, during an interview a few days later commented that the team

consider [them]selves amateurs in every way, and have just come over for sport and a holiday. We are paying our own expenses, bar the small minimum sum, £3000, guaranteed by the Northern Union. Yes, if there is a surplus we shall act on the same lines as the Australian cricketers did. The New Zealand Rugby Union have not declared us professionals, and we don't see why they should. This is a sporting tour designed to prove that we can beat the Northern Union. We were told that the Northern Union played a better game than the men that our fellows beat, and we have come over to see if we cannot beat your best. And we think we can. <sup>195</sup>

However, although Baskiville did not consider the New Zealand team to be professional, there were those within the team itself who did.

In Leeds the team was given an official welcome at a special dinner held in their honour. Mr. J.B. Cooke of the Northern Union toasted the New Zealanders saying, "[T]he 'phantoms'. They look . . . very substantial indeed." <sup>196</sup> 'Bumper' Wright, the New Zealand Captain, in response replied that his team appreciated the warm welcome they had received. Mr. J. Gleeson, one of the New Zealand players, then toasted the Northern Union and took a swipe at the Rugby Union by referring to the four 1905 All Blacks members of the team, saying that they

felt that it was better . . . to come into the limelight and show that they were professionals, rather than remain pseudo-amateurs, who received their bonuses and obtained what they called in New Zealand, "billets," in which they obtained recompense for their football service. Those men . . . by coming into the limelight as professionals, were doing what any honest man should do. <sup>197</sup>

Initially the press was quite favourable about both the team and the impression its members created when they arrived. A London writer for *The New Zealand Herald* commented that the New Zealanders were "without any argument, one of the finest-built sets

---

<sup>194</sup> *Manchester Guardian (MG)*: 1 October 1907; *Yorkshire Post (YP)*. 1 October 1907

<sup>195</sup> *NZH* 15 November 1907, p 5, c 8.

<sup>196</sup> *YP*. 2 October 1907

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid*.

of men who could form an invading team." <sup>198</sup> The class composition of the team became an initial talking point. General astonishment, especially amongst the northern papers, was expressed about the class-base of the team. A reporter for the *Athletic News* briefly commented, "As regards social status we were perhaps not quite prepared to find so many highly educated men amongst our guests," <sup>199</sup> while in the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury*, "Flaneur" reported:

[The team] are, if one may say so without offence, a mixed company. There are several highly educated men among the party, and there are others who occupy a different social strata, but . . . in intelligence the New Zealand footballer is far ahead of the working man footballer of this country. <sup>200</sup>

*The Yorkshire Evening Post's* correspondent remarked:

The New Zealand professional footballers . . . are a splendid set of fellows, magnificently built physically, intelligent and in the main of gentlemanly bearing. Socially, at any rate, they are quite as respectable, if one may use the term, a type of men as the amateur 'All Blacks', who toured the British Isles two years ago. <sup>201</sup>

In fact, when we look at the occupations of the players in the All Golds team, and then compare them with the occupations of the players in the 1905 All Blacks, it could be said that the All Golds were even *more* respectable than the All Blacks. <sup>202</sup>

This differing class composition of the team resulted from the very different foundations of the New Zealand Rugby game, and those who played it. The men who played Rugby in New Zealand came from all walks of life, and were not confined to the middle-class or upper-classes. Although there were a fair number who belonged to a 'middle class,' the New Zealand class system was much broader and more loosely defined than in England. Strict demarcation lines separating one class from another were practically non-existent; social barriers between manual and non-manual occupations were much less rigid; and social

---

<sup>198</sup> *NZH*: 15 November 1907, p 5, c.8

<sup>199</sup> *AN*: 7 October 1907.

<sup>200</sup> *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury (LYM)*: 3 October 1907.

<sup>201</sup> *YP* 2 October 1907, quoted in *The Dominion*: 12 November 1907, p.5, c.7.

<sup>202</sup> For comparison see Chapter 2, p.32

markers (accent, school, etc) were far less obvious. Members of the All Golds team had to provide £50 each towards the tour. That, along with the long spell away from work, would have been a restriction for some working class players. These two factors may have influenced the balance of working-class to middle-class players in this team, and emphasize the entrepreneurial nature of the All Golds tour.

During the two weeks before their first game, the New Zealanders spent time practising the subtleties of the new code and generally familiarizing themselves with each other's play. They were coached by Mr J.H. Smith of Widnes, who explained the new rules to them, and refereed a practice game. Mr Smith was surprised at the ingenuity of the team, and pronounced himself well satisfied with their first trial by remarking to a reporter:

They ask me questions that would never occur to the average Northern Union player. Sometimes, this morning, they have put points to me that have been really difficult to answer off-hand. I have had to think before giving my reply. And they want more than a verbal explanation; they want to try the thing in actual practice, to rehearse a particular theory from the point or view of a referee's interpretation of the rules, and they stick to the point until they are quite satisfied they have mastered it. Moreover, it is astonishing how quickly they grasp an explanation. The men use their brains; they are fast and clever.<sup>203</sup>

The team was given the opportunity to watch the Leeds–Hunslet match before their first game. All were impressed with what they saw. 'Bumper' Wright excitedly exclaimed, "It beats the Rugby game out of sight".<sup>204</sup> Baskiville too was impressed, stating that "football as played under Northern Union rules would suit New Zealand spectators right down to the ground."<sup>205</sup>

It was then time for the team to get down to the 'real work' of the tour. A reporter for the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury* warned:

The New Zealanders have a great responsibility on their shoulders. Their visit is full of possibilities. If they play really good and attractive football, and

---

<sup>203</sup> *LYM* 3 October 1907.

<sup>204</sup> *Truth* 30 November 1907, p 3, c 6

<sup>205</sup> *NZH* 22 November 1907, p.8, c 2.



"All Blacks'" First Practice at Headingley.



"PLAY THE BALL."

("Mercury" Photo.)

One of the Northern Union rules which will probably cause the New Zealanders more trouble than any other. Mr. J. H. Smith (the well-known Widnes referee, who is acting as instructor during their stay in Leeds) is here explaining the rule to a group of players; while Cross and Tyne put it into practice. The names of the players whose faces are visible are (from left to right)—A. H. Baskerville (the "All Blacks" organiser and secretary), J. H. Smith (instructor), C. A. Byrne, H. R. Wright, C. Dunning, T. W. Cross, and G. J. Pearce.

**Plate 6**

Source: *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury*: 3 October 1907.



## Plate 7

Source: *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury*: 3 October 1907.



**THE NEW ZEALAND FOOTBALLERS.**

BACK ROW (left to right): R. Wynyard, A. Lile, D. Gilchrist, E. Tyne, C. Dunning, and W. Tyler. MIDDLE ROW: A.H. Baskiville, C. Pearce, A. Kelly, J.A. Lavery, \_\_\_\_\_, R. Callam. C. Byrne, W. Wynyard, Mr. J.H. Smith (Northern Union), \_\_\_\_\_, and S. Turtill. FRONT ROW: W. Johnston, W. Trevarthen, H. Messenger, E. Wrigley, G.W. Smith, R. Wright, D. McGregor, W. Mackrell, H. Rowe, L. Todd, and T. Cross.

**Plate 8**

Source: *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury*: 4 October 1907.



Plate 9

Source: *Athletic News*: 7 October 1907.

show that under Northern Union rules brilliant work may be accomplished, they will do the game an incalculable amount of good. If, on the other hand, they fail to rise above mediocrity they will rather harm the cause Northern Unionists have at heart.<sup>206</sup>

It was common knowledge that the Northern Union had arranged for the All Golds to play the 'lesser' teams first (positioned from the previous season.). Thus they could ease themselves into the Northern Union style of play, which was completely new to them. It was felt that this would help the team not only assimilate the new game, but also help the fate of the tour considerably. A winning team is a popular team. And a popular team is a big draw card in determining a large 'gate'. In order to clear the expenses of the tour, the team needed to win well and keep on winning, thus drawing the crowds and their money. Being unbeaten meant the opposition had something higher to strive for, and the resulting contest was bound to be 'a cracker of a game'. The consequent excitement and enthusiasm created would spill over into the Northern Union itself. More people would want to see the game; more would come back again; and hopefully new players would want to take it up. This would also go a long way towards restoring the fortunes of the Northern Union.

The All Golds played their first match on 9 October against Bramley, in ideal weather conditions in front of 8000 people. They fielded a 'semi-experimental' combination: Turtill, Rowe, Smith, Wrigley, Messenger, McGregor, W. Wynyard, and Tyler, Mackrell, Dunning, Cross, Pearce and Johnston in the forwards. To the surprise of many they won by 25 points to 6, a much larger margin than most had given them credit for. *The Evening Post* summed up the general impression by saying:

At present the visitors are struggling with the subtleties of the Northern Union rules, which in some vital instances are different from the ordinary Rugby Union regulations. . . . The colonials, however, had good tuition, and cleverly assimilated their instructions. They gave a very good, but not perfect, exhibition of the new game, and demonstrated individual brilliance. When they are sure of their ground, and the combination grows in cleverness, the team will be a grand contingent.<sup>207</sup>

---

<sup>206</sup> *LYM* 7 October 1907.

<sup>207</sup> *Evening Post (EP)*: 15 November 1907, p.3, c.2.

Most initial press reactions to the winning New Zealanders were generally very supportive, although somewhat cautiously optimistic of the team's success. The correspondent for the *Morning Post* (a southern paper) was very positive in his report of the game, and compared the team favourably with the 1905 All Blacks:

The New Zealanders, in the excitement of the play, were often forgetful of the difference between their own game and the rules which they had been endeavouring to learn. . . . As a rule they may be said to have acquitted themselves excellently well in this first match. They had great pace; their fielding of the ball was perfect; their backing up was well done; and when they realized the full value of punting high and following up they were more than a match for their opponents. . . . From a first view of these New Zealanders . . . it was easily apparent that the side possesses all the virtues of Gallaheer's team.<sup>208</sup>

But the *Daily Express*, another southern paper, rather patronisingly reported that

The Colonials piled up 25 points to 6 – a score that greatly exaggerates their superiority. . . . Bramley should . . . at least have doubled their points, [and] it needs no telling that the visitors are not nearly so strong as the amateur combination, which visited England a couple of years back. . . . [T]he visitors scarcely fulfilled expectations. There was none of that wonderful juggling with the ball which made their predecessors famous. Their strong points are accuracy in fielding the ball, and quick kicking, but at times the tackling was weak. The backs are fast. . . . The forwards were much at sea . . . but subsequently improved.

The paper concluded, rather grudgingly: "The team will probably win most of their matches, but are not a really great side."<sup>209</sup> From the North, the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury* reserved judgement. Its correspondent wrote:

One came away from the match feeling just a little undecided as to the merits of the 'All Blacks'. On the one hand, one realised that they are a side of fast, brilliant footballers, cool in fielding the ball under difficulties, strong in running and kicking, and vigorous tacklers when they get their hands on a man. On the other hand, their defence was decidedly weak . . . and their work in the scrummages was never convincing. At times they passed and ran with the brilliance of the 'All Blacks' of two years ago, but one missed that touch of genius that Hunter and Wallace possessed.<sup>210</sup>

---

<sup>208</sup> *The Morning Post*, quoted in *EP*: 22 November 1907, p.4, c 3

<sup>209</sup> *The Daily Express*, quoted in *The Referee*: 20 November 1907, p.9, c.7-8.

<sup>210</sup> *IYM*. 10 October 1907.



However the confidence boost that the Bramley win gave the team saw them field a changed lineup against Huddersfield. This meant they could use those who had not yet played. As a result they fielded an almost new forward pack. The team was Turtill, Rowe, Smith, Messenger, Wrigley, Todd, R. Wynyard, and Lile, Gilchrist, Trevarthen, Johnston, Wright and Byrne. Attendance at Huddersfield was up to over 10,000 spectators, a direct consequence of the first-up win, and gave the visitors a gate of over £405. The All Golds won by 19 points to 8. In the *Daily Telegraph*, (a southern paper), the reporter stated that "[They] were a little fortunate to win by such a large margin."<sup>211</sup>

The Widnes game was won 29-11. For this match, Messenger, Smith and Todd were rested in preparation for the fourth match of the tour, which was considered a tough one against Broughton Rangers. Baskiville had written at the end of the Widnes game:

Next Saturday comes the tug-of-war. . . . If we beat [Broughton Rangers] we are capable of winning every match of the tour. They are girding up their loins, having special training, and of course are confident of lowering our standard. We shall see about that though.<sup>212</sup>

Crowd figures were nearly 25,000, recognition of the importance of this game, and a record gate yielded approximately £1100. It was a thrilling match, with the All Golds showing "brilliant work in the open". This time the *Daily Telegraph* gave some praise by exclaiming that "The colonials had the better of the play, and in fact were the much better team".<sup>213</sup> New Zealand won by 20 points to 14. Baskiville stated: "We have not yet thoroughly mastered the rules, and it was the Blacks' ignorance in this direction which practically led to all the scores on the opposing side."<sup>214</sup>

The team's fifth game was against Wakefield Trinity on 23 October, and the match resulted in a 5-all draw. This time Baskiville said:

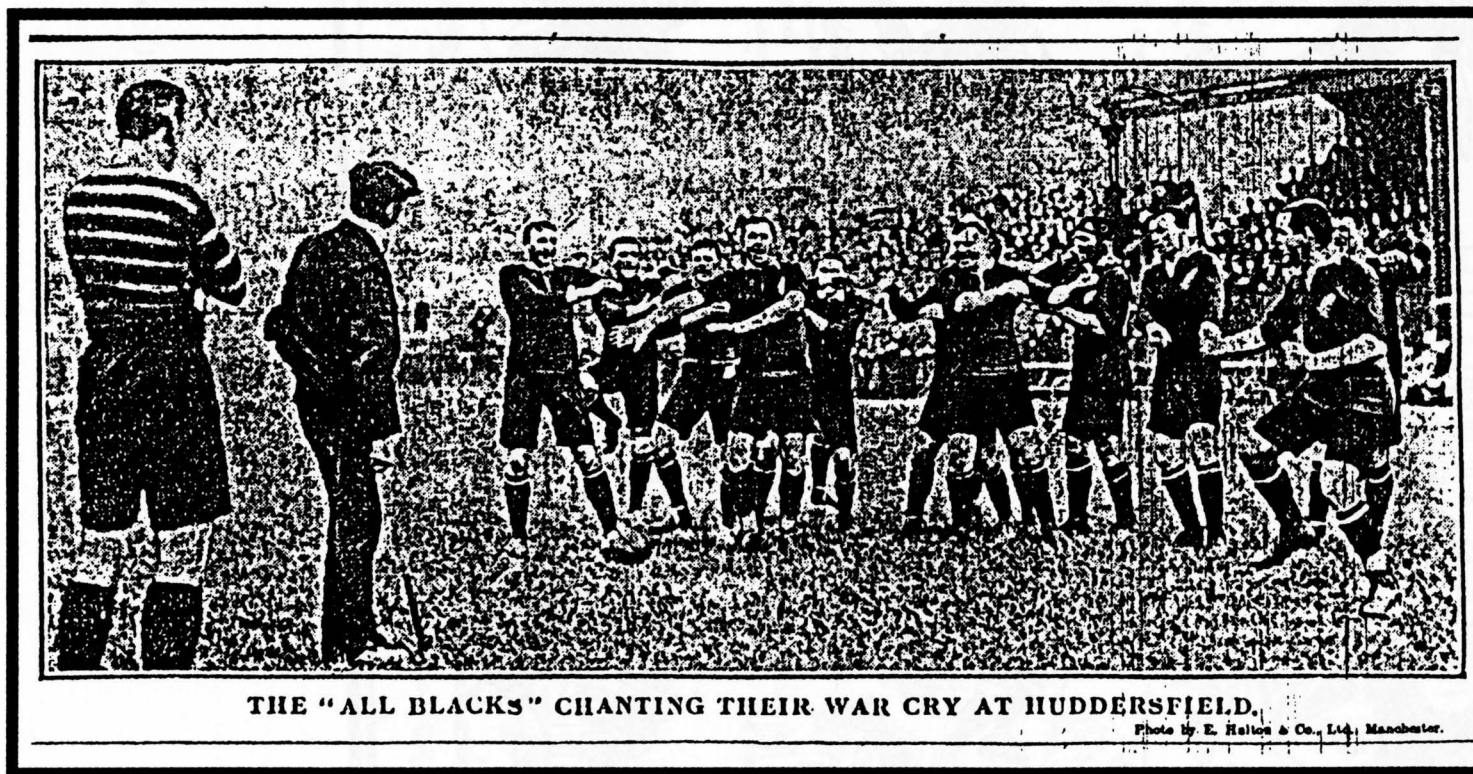
---

<sup>211</sup> *The Daily Telegraph*, quoted in *NZH*: 19 November 1907, p 5, c.8.

<sup>212</sup> *Dominion*: 27 November 1907, p.8, c.2.

<sup>213</sup> *The Daily Telegraph*, quoted in *NZH*: 29 November 1907, p.5, c.8.

<sup>214</sup> *NZH* 7 December 1907, p.7, c.8.



THE "ALL BLACKS" CHANTING THEIR WAR CRY AT HUDDERSFIELD.

Photo by E. Hulton & Co., Ltd., Manchester.

**Plate 10**

Source: *Athletic News*: 14 October 1907.





Plate 11

THE ALL BLACKS WIN AT HUDDERSFIELD.

Source: *Athletic News*: 14 October 1907.

The triumphal tour of the New Zealand team received a set back or check at Wakefield. The "Blacks" were caught napping. Wakefield Trinity was regarded as a weak team. We underestimated our opponents, who played the game of their lives.<sup>215</sup>

This first 'lapse' was harshly criticized in the English papers,<sup>216</sup> with the *Daily Chronicle* reporter claiming that "the finer points of football were remarkable for their absence."<sup>217</sup> An 'experimental' team had been used for this match, consisting of Turtill, Lavery, Smith, Rowe, Messenger, R. Wynyard, Gleeson, and Mackrell, Tyler, Dunning, Byrne, Pearce and Tyne in the forwards. Baskiville thought that had the weather been fine and the ground dry, "the experiment would, no doubt have turned out a successful one."<sup>218</sup> After the sixth match against Leeds, which resulted in a win for the New Zealanders by 8 points to 2, the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury* writer praised the team, saying:

The New Zealanders may have much to learn, but that they are better footballers than the average Northern Union club side is evident from the fact that, though playing a new code on strange grounds, they have escaped defeat in their first half-dozen matches, and have won five of them by a margin of at least half a dozen points each.<sup>219</sup>

And so, for a time, it continued. The next three matches, against St. Helens, Merthyr Tydfil and Keighley also resulted in wins: 24-5, 27-9 and 9-7 respectively. Baskiville's insight into what was happening can be seen in his dispatches home, when he quoted from the *Daily Mail*:

The New Zealanders played a great game, always interesting, and at times absolutely enthralling. . . . Taken all round the side may be said to be what might be called their second team. There must be a first side when Messenger, Smith, Todd, Johnston, and Mackrell are included.

Baskiville added, "However, we are beginning to think that there is no second side. There certainly is not in the forwards."<sup>220</sup>

---

<sup>215</sup> *Dominion*: 3 December 1907, p 6, c 2, *NZH*: 4 December 1907, p 7, c 8.

<sup>216</sup> See *LYM*: 24 October 1907; *NZH*: 30 November 1907, p.7, c.3.

<sup>217</sup> *The Daily Chronicle*, quoted in *NZH*: 30 November 1907, p.7, c.3.

<sup>218</sup> *Dominion*: 3 December 1907, p.6, c 2 (Punctuation as in original )

<sup>219</sup> *LYM*: 28 October 1907.

<sup>220</sup> *Dominion*: 27 November 1907, p.8, c.2.

At this stage of the tour, Baskiville did not concede that there were some weaker players – especially in the forwards. Any deficiencies had not really been put to the test. Until now the team had had a relatively easy time of it. This first month had been very successful for them, and the players were still fresh. They had been able to try out as many of their players as possible, and with conditions generally dry, they were able to make the most of their running and passing game which was their strength. This aspect was also a big draw card for the spectators. Dry weather and grounds meant the action would be faster and more spectacular, giving the backs opportunities to shine and display their talents.

However, the All Golds were frequently affected by the different rules, and were often penalized for technical offences throughout their games. Added to this was the differing scrum formation and the reduction in the number of players, two things that handicapped them considerably. Despite this, the team won the first eight of their nine games and drew the other. They were 'stung' a little by the criticism about their draw against Wakefield Trinity. But the general mood in their camp was that of a happy, positive team. Baskiville was very pleased with the way the backs were performing, although he and the team disliked the constant criticism that the press heaped on the forwards. Baskiville had previously commented after the Huddersfield match, that "the New Zealand forwards are not getting the credit, locally, for our wins. They are being kept in the background by the press."<sup>221</sup> Following the Leeds match, a comment typical of many was offered by "Forward" in the *Athletic News*:

As usual, my adverse criticism of the New Zealanders is reserved for their forwards. Rarely did they secure possession, and their inability in this great essential went a long way in the Leeds plan of campaign. . . . In the loose the Colonial six are smart, and more than a match for any team in the Northern Union, but in the tight scrummages they have met a superior lot so far in every match.<sup>222</sup>

Baskiville was focusing on the positive aspects of individual play, while the press, although giving credit for their work in the loose, focused more on the weakness in the scrums.

---

<sup>221</sup> *Dominion*: 26 November 1907, p.6, c.3.

<sup>222</sup> *AN*: 28 October 1907.

But the New Zealanders' run of good luck finally came to an end in their 10th match on 8 November. The weather at Wigan was dull and threatening. It had been raining in the morning, so the ground was heavy. The final result saw the All Golds record their first defeat, 8-12 in favour of Wigan.

At last the New Zealanders have met defeat! Thirty thousand people of Wigan are in high glee because their representatives defeated the 'All Blacks', and they were privileged to witness the most exciting Rugby game that has ever been contested on their ground at Central Park.<sup>223</sup>

This was how Baskiville opened his match report. It is interesting to note, however, the tone of the press reports commenting on the Wigan defeat, compared to those concerning the draw against Wakefield Trinity. Following the draw, reports had been quick to criticize the team and their standard of play. Yet after defeat, the reports were more generous with their praise.<sup>224</sup> A correspondent for *The Daily News* stated that "The New Zealanders suffered their first defeat at the hands of worthy opponents,"<sup>225</sup> while "Forward" reported in *The Athletic News*:

New Zealand, as usual, were bold at the commencement, but Wigan soon settled down, and we had a match of contrasts. On one side were seen the orthodox methods, robust scrummaging, nippy halfback movements, and a three-quarter line who could do nothing wrong. On the other side, the colonials indulged in their zig-zag running, short, hand to hand passing, sure catching, and brilliant work in the loose. Needless to say the approved English methods were successful. The margin, of course, was not large, and I will pay the colonials a compliment by stating that they were just four points the inferior side.<sup>226</sup>

This first defeat against Wigan signalled the end of the 'honeymoon period' for the team and caused a mini-collapse. The team won just one of their next five games, which caused "Flaneur" in *The Leeds Yorkshire Mercury* to lament:

Still it was felt that if any club team was likely to lower the colours of the "Blacks", that team was Wigan . . . and the public were prepared to see the Colonials recover from their reverse and take up the tale of victory again. The

---

<sup>223</sup> *Dominion*: 24 December 1907, p.8, c.1.

<sup>224</sup> For example of Wakefield Trinity criticism see *LYM*: 24 October 1907, *NZH*: 30 November 1907, p.7, c.3.

<sup>225</sup> *The Daily News*, quoted in *NZH*: 17 December 1907, p.5, c.6.

<sup>226</sup> *AN*: 11 November 1907, p.2. See also *LYM*: 11 November 1907.

defeat at Barrow has thus come as a rude shock. It suggests either that the New Zealanders have been lucky in gaining some of their victories, or that the defeat at Wigan has caused a collapse. . . . I certainly thought they would adapt themselves to the requirements of modern Northern Union football more readily than they have been able to do.<sup>227</sup>

The defeat at Barrow 3-6, was followed by a 5 point win against Hull, 18-13. But the team then lost their next three matches: 9-15 against Leigh, narrowly against Oldham 7-8, and 0-9 against Runcorn – the first time that the All Golds had been kept scoreless. The game against Hull was the only one of these five that was played in dry weather.

From then on, the going got much more difficult for the New Zealanders, and accordingly newspaper comment became harsher.<sup>228</sup> Opposing teams now included more of the tougher teams, and a growing injury list along with much more unpleasant weather conditions all contributed to New Zealand's poor playing record. Both Baskiville and the team were getting frustrated – especially Baskiville who was sitting on the sidelines. Because of his managerial duties he played only one game on the tour, that being the final one against St. Helens. After the Runcorn loss Baskiville said:

Bad luck is not a sufficient excuse for the defeat. The All Blacks should have done as well in the bog as they did on Oldham's wet ground. Bad luck, consistently recurring, assumes, in the long run, the appearance of bad management. They should have adapted themselves to circumstances, as the Runcorn men did.<sup>229</sup>

After the Swinton match (which despite wet weather New Zealand won 11-2) *The Daily Dispatch* sports writer said:

[The New Zealanders] will sail for home with a very poor opinion of the climate. Certainly in this respect they have been treated very badly. . . . At Oldham it rained, hailed and snowed all through the second half, at Runcorn it simply teamed down, and yesterday so heavy was the storm at Swinton that the very unusual spectacle was seen of a Rugby match having to be stopped for a short time owing to the severity of the elements. It was a mixture of hail and rain, and the men ran off the field trying to cover their faces and heads

---

<sup>227</sup> Ibid, 15 November 1907.

<sup>228</sup> For example, see *AN* 16 December 1907; *EP* 3 December 1907, p.2, c.6; *LYM*. 25 November 1907.

<sup>229</sup> *Dominion*: 8 January 1908, p.8, c.3



Plate 12

NEW ZEALAND'S STRUGGLE AT OLDHAM.

Source: *Athletic News*: 25 November 1907.

from the pitiless stinging downpour. The ground was heavy enough to start with, but before the game was over it was a veritable mud patch.<sup>230</sup>

"The vilest" of conditions faced the team at Bradford. Baskiville described the ground as a "veritable quagmire" – conditions which unfortunately saw the New Zealanders 'out of their element'.<sup>231</sup> Baskiville darkly commented: "Some wet grounds in the Dominion are bad enough, but Bradford's has no equal."<sup>232</sup> A report in *The Manchester Guardian* summed up the situation by saying "It was evident that the wretched weather and the sodden state of the grounds lately have brought the New Zealanders more on a level with the Northern Union clubs."<sup>233</sup> Yet despite the bad weather, the All Golds had managed to win three from this group of five games. The first against Dewsbury & Batley (18-8) was the one game that was played in dry weather. They beat Swinton 11-2; and Rochdale Hornets 19-0. But they lost against Bradford 2-7, and Halifax 4-9.

While on tour, the team played three County matches, two Internationals and three Test matches. The first County match was against Yorkshire on 18 December, when the All Golds had a decisive win. The *Manchester Guardian* said:

The Wakefield ground was the first in good condition on which the New Zealand men had played for some time. For the last dozen matches or so, they have had to play in rain and wind. How much difference it makes to them to be playing on a ground in good condition was obvious in the result of this match. They played a better game almost from the start.<sup>234</sup>

The All Golds' win by 23 points to 4 surprised many. "Wednesday was the first occasion since the Wigan match – our first defeat – that the 'going' was all that could be desired", wrote Baskiville in his match report on the relationship between the weather conditions and the win against Yorkshire:

The pitch was in perfect condition for fast football. . . . Given neutral ground, a good pitch and ball, and last, but not least, a good referee, then we are convinced several of the adverse results sustained lately would have been

---

<sup>230</sup> *The Daily Dispatch*, quoted in *Dominion*: 16 January 1908, p.4, c.1.

<sup>231</sup> *NZH*. 22 January 1908, p.6, c.7

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>233</sup> *MG* quoted in *Dominion*: 24 January 1908, p.7, c.4.

<sup>234</sup> *MG*: 19 December 1907, p.5, c.8.

different. Though victory was very pleasant to secure, it gave rise to a feeling of regret when these defeats were contrasted with it. It went to prove that we are unfortunately fair-weather players only.<sup>235</sup>

The continual positive outlook from the northern press was again evident when "Flaneur" wrote in the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury*:

If the New Zealanders have not quite lived up to the reputation they earned when they won eight of their first nine matches and drew the other, they have wound up the year in capital style . . . and a record of fourteen victories, eight defeats, and two drawn games is by no means unsatisfactory when the character of the opposition is taken into account.<sup>236</sup>

The first International was played at Aberdare between the All Golds and Wales on Wednesday 1 January 1908. The 1905 All Blacks had met their only defeat in Wales, so as a consequence there was much interest taken in this match. Smith and Todd were both out of the team due to injuries. It was a close game, with Wales just managing to hold out the All Golds by 9 points to 8.

The second County game against Cumberland on Thursday 9 January was a heavy loss for the All Golds. Cumberland's 21-9 win was one of the All Golds most decisive defeats, and contrasts strongly with the second International game, held one week later. This match against England was a very close affair. Although it ended as a loss for the All Golds, England were considered very lucky to have hung on to a two point lead at the end to win 18-16. The match was played with the New Zealand back-line at full strength again.

The All Golds now had a break of one week before they played the last County game. Since starting the tour on 9 October, the gap between games had been either two or three days. On four occasions they had had four days, and twice had only a one day break. This was the first time that the team could have a spell between games that was as long as six days. Whether this was of benefit to the team is unclear. It obviously gave those who were injured more time to recover, however, the match against Lancashire saw the All Golds facing a

---

<sup>235</sup> *Dominion*: 31 January 1908, p.8, c.3.

<sup>236</sup> *LYM*. 30 December 1907.





Plate 13

RED ROSE BETTER THAN ALL BLACK.

Source: *Athletic News*: 20 January 1908.

disastrous defeat of 4 points to 20. This was not good preparation for the first Test on 25 January.

Whereas the International matches consisted of teams chosen from players solely from Wales or England, for the Tests all players were considered in order that the teams be representative of the best the Northern Union had to offer. The first Test was played at Headingley. Conditions were 'perfect' but the attendance was very 'disappointing'; barely 8000 turned up to see the All Golds beaten 6-14. "The arrangement to leave all the representative matches to the close of the tour", said "Flaneur" in the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury*, "has not proved beneficial to the Colonials, who, on Saturday's showing, are a stale, tired combination."<sup>237</sup> These sentiments were reiterated by "W.L.S." in the *Athletic News*. His report however, was much less kind:

I am aware that the best men are getting stale, and that there are not the reserve players who are capable of taking the positions of the cracks when these are crocked, but all the same there is likewise a manifest lack of ability, and it is being proved that the present party are not nearly strong enough to cope with the Northern Union teams. Excuses may be offered regarding illness and strangeness to the rules, but what in the name of goodness is the use of blinking at what is plain – that the men are not able to beat our players?

The weakness begins in the pack, and is continued behind it. The side were only beaten by a margin of eight points on Saturday at Headingley; yet they were a lucky team to get off so easily. The tackling, save in a few cases, was bad; the passing, with few exceptions, was bewildering, and by 'bewildering' I mean that it was rare the object of the wild heaves could be appreciated, and again the men seem to be losing rather than gaining pace.<sup>238</sup>

Surprisingly the All Golds came back magnificently to take the second Test by 12 points. I say 'surprisingly' because their earlier form had suggested that they would be no match for the best in the Union, considering they also lost the County matches 1-2, and lost both Internationals. England were expected to win comfortably, and such "anticipations were strengthened when it was found that through minor injuries at least four of the supposed superior players in the Colonial combination had to be left out".<sup>239</sup> "At Chelsea the Northern

---

<sup>237</sup> *LYM*. 27 January 1908.

<sup>238</sup> *AN*: 27 January 1908

<sup>239</sup> By "Forward" in the *AN* 10 February 1908.



**Plate 14**

NEW ZEALAND LOSE THE FIRST TEST.

Source: *Athletic News*: 27 January 1908.

Union teams were engaged in what was officially described as 'educational work', and the only fly in the ointment was that the educational part of the programme was given by the New Zealanders instead of by the British representatives" said the *Athletic News*. The All Golds 18-6 win was a very strong result. The *Athletic News* went on to say:

The crowd, however, were most appreciative, and the first professional Rugby match in the Metropolis [London] was from every point of view, a distinct success. The Colonials reproduced their form of the early part of the season despite the fact that they were supposed to have a weak side. England's indifferent display is inexplicable, and if the New Zealanders can retain their form of Saturday the final, and what will now be the deciding match of the series, at Cheltenham would provide a strenuous struggle. <sup>240</sup>

The attendance of nearly 15,000 was very pleasing for the Northern Union, considering the fact that an International Rugby game was being played at Richmond, and it contrasted strongly to the paltry few who turned up to see the first Test. "Forward" praised the New Zealand forwards for their performance in the Test, stating it was their 'splendid work' in the scrummages which resulted in the New Zealand win. He singled out Cross and Gilchrist for their 'smart following up', and praised the six for their effectiveness in the scrummages and in the loose play, and went on to say:

all through the game the Colonials seemed a happy family, and their form was fully equal to their great doings of the first month of the tour. The change was more than remarkable, and had the revival come some few weeks previous the record of the tour would have been worthy of the men's reputations. <sup>241</sup>

The final Test was played a week later on 15 February. The All Golds narrowly won the decider 8-3. One of the interesting things to note about the match reports for the game was the focus on the 'disgraceful fisticuffs' that took place in what was an otherwise lacklustre match. <sup>242</sup> It was a close game, and considering this was the decider, the attendance of 5000 was very poor, although this probably had more to do with 'the wretched weather' than anything else. This was a contest marred by violence, which unfortunately was highlighted, and thus diminished the fact that New Zealand had won the series 2 games to 1 *in their first*

---

<sup>240</sup> *AN*: 10 February 1908.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>242</sup> For examples, see *AN*. 17 February 1908, *Dominion* 4 April 1908, p 9, c.1. *EP* 24 March 1908, p.2, c.5. *NZH*. 19 February 1908, p.7, c.5; 24 March 1908, p.5, c.7

*ever attempt.* A report in *The Yorkshire Post* was more positive than others, focusing instead upon the remarkable accomplishment of the team:

After being defeated in 14 matches, some of them against teams of quite ordinary calibre, the New Zealanders are able to return to the Dominion the winners of the rubber in the 'test' encounters with the Northern Union. This is an achievement that will compensate them for much of the loss of prestige they had previously sustained. They came to the North of England to play what was to them practically a new game; they had much to learn, and still more to unlearn. It is to their credit that they quickly mastered the technicalities of the Northern union rules, and that they have been able to win two of the three matches against teams specially chosen to uphold the Union's prestige. In one sense the Northern Unionists' defeat is disappointing. It follows upon the loss of the test matches by the English cricket team in Australia, and it will be cited in the colonies as another example of the superiority of colonial skill.<sup>243</sup>

Altogether 35 matches were played, with the team winning 19, losing 14 and drawing 2. They scored 414 points – (90 tries and 72 goals) to the opposition's 294 points – (70 tries and 42 goals).<sup>244</sup>

The All Golds were naturally disappointed that they did not win more of their games, but overall were very pleased with the results of the tour. They won the inaugural Test series at the first try, and financially did better than they or anyone else had hoped for. Baskiville commented about the tour thus:

[The results] seem to me very good. We have won a substantial majority of the games. Had we even gained a bare majority it would have been good in the circumstances. But we have suffered somewhat in credit through the phenomenal figures scored by our amateur predecessors, the 'All Blacks,' most of which were obtained against relatively weak amateur teams, whereas we have been playing against the best professional footballers in the country. . . . [W]e should, of course, have done better, and certainly should have saved several games that we lost by very close margins. We defeated half the counties, some by large odds. England only beat us by 2 points and Wales by only 1. The fact is, this New Zealand team and the English professional teams are very closely matched. There is not much to choose between them. . . . When we were beaten it was admittedly by better players. But, like the 'All Blacks', we have suffered through those who made our arrangements, keeping back our chief matches until too late. The consequence has been that we have

---

<sup>243</sup> *YP*, quoted in *Dominion*. 11 April 1908, p.9, c.1.

<sup>244</sup> For tour results see Appendix F.

become thoroughly stale and tired – almost dead-beat – so that the very name of football is quite loathsome to us.<sup>245</sup>

The mid-tour slump can be attributed to a number of different causes. Firstly, "their weakness has been largely a matter of reserves."<sup>246</sup> Existing reserve players were not up to the job, and as a consequence, top players had to play in nearly every match so that the team could play at full strength. Palmer commented upon this aspect of the tour by saying:

We have not been successful with our men. Many have been laid up with bad colds and accidents, and I must confess that some of the men are not good enough to play against the opposition we are meeting, and for that reason we had to play the same men match after match, and they became stale early in the tour.<sup>247</sup>

Basically the 'top team' played whenever possible, barring injuries. Of the 29 players there was a core of about 15 or so who were considered the 'main side'. The others filled in for the lighter mid-week games, with a few who were picked only when the situation got really desperate – that is, when there was no one else to pick. The main forward pack consisted of Gilchrist, Trevarthen, Byrne, Cross, Johnston, and either Wright or Pearce. After that Mackrell and Lile were used. In the backs, Turtill, Messenger, Smith, Wrigley, Todd, and R. Wynyard all commanded walk up positions, with Rowe, Tyler, Kelly and W. Wynyard, being used to fill the remainder of the top backline. Their use often depended on injury – either that of the main players or their own. W. Wynyard was one of the frequently injured. In fact he had the unfortunate distinction to be injured in every one of the 10<sup>248</sup> matches he played in. Rowe played in 22 games, while Tyler, who played in 13 games, seems to have been used as a utility player, and was often shuffled between the forwards and backs depending on injuries. Lavery, Tyne and McGregor were used relatively frequently to make up the remainder of the backs.

---

<sup>245</sup> *EP*: 17 March 1908, p.5, c.2.

<sup>246</sup> *The Daily News*, quoted in *EP*: 9 March 1908, p.8, c.5.

<sup>247</sup> *EP*: 6 March 1908, p 2, c.8.

<sup>248</sup> All references to number of games played are out of a total of 33 (being the matches which were supplied with full team lists).

**CHOICE OF PLAYERS RANKED BY SKILL; & NUMBER OF GAMES PLAYED.**

1st choice		2nd choice		3rd choice		Last choice	
		<b>FORWARDS</b>					
Gilchrist	23	Wright	20	Mackrell	10	Dunning	5
Trevarthen	16	Pearce	28	Lile	15	Callum	1
Byrne	16						
Cross	28						
Johnston	27						
		<b>BACKS</b>					
Turtill	32	Rowe	22	Lavery	8	Gleeson	2
Messenger	27	Tyler *	13	Tyne	8		
Smith	23	Kelly	12	McGregor	6		
Wrigley	29	W. Wynyard	10				
Todd	21						
R. Wynyard	27						

**Table 2**

The lack of competent reserves was noted early on in the tour, "Flaneur" commenting in the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury*:

The fact is, the tourists have had to stand more gruelling than they anticipated, and they have not the reserve force in the back division necessary to face successfully two strong club sides a week. Turtill, the fullback, had I notice, his first rest of the tour yesterday; but Smith, Wynyard, Wrigley, and Todd, not to mention Messenger . . . are being worked too hard, simply because the Colonials cannot afford to leave them out.<sup>249</sup>

Illness and injuries also played havoc with the team. Because there was a lack of player back-up available, the rising injury toll contributed to the numerous defeats. The list of injured players was a rather long one. Watkins for example, was injured in the early practice games and was then unable to play for the rest of the tour. Turtill on the other hand, missed only one match.

---

<sup>249</sup> *LYM* 15 November 1907.

**NUMBER OF GAMES PLAYED.**<sup>250</sup>

32 - 27 games	23 - 20 games	16 - 10 games	8 - 5 games
Turtill 32	Smith 23	Trevarthen 16	Tyne 8
Wrigley 29	Gilchrist 23	Byrne 16	Lavery 8
Cross 28	Rowe 22	Lile 15	McGregor 6
Pearce 28	Todd 21	Tyler 13	Dunning 5
Messenger 27	Wright 20	Kelly 12	
R. Wynyard 27		Wynyard 10	(Gleeson 2)
Johnston 27		Mackrell 10	(Callam 1)

**Table 3**

Constant touring, with two games being played most weeks, meant players had little time to rest their injuries. On one occasion Baskiville commented that the players were not 100% fit, but the only choice was to play them if they were hoping for a win.<sup>251</sup> This heavy game schedule throughout the tour meant that the amount of 'spare time' between games was minimal. In fact it was 3½ months before there was a break of one week. It is no wonder that weariness set in towards the end of their five month tour. The County, International and Test matches, being at the end of the tour, must have created added pressure. Judging by the team lists, the All Golds were not able to rest key players in preparation for a more important game. Yet they won two of the three Tests, and both Internationals were lost by extremely small margins. This tends to confirm an assumption that the team managed to 'rise to the occasion' for the important games. According to team lists for the second County, second International, third County, and first Test matches (4 consecutive games), the best players available were used on each occasion. The two County games were huge losses, and the first Test was a relatively large loss, while the International game was lost by two points only. Yet virtually the same players were producing these very different results.

Some of the team were just not able to adapt to the new game at all. But ultimately, until they started to play matches using the new rules, there was no way of knowing which players would adapt easily to the changes, and which ones would have difficulties. After the

---

<sup>250</sup> Games played out of a total of 33.

<sup>251</sup> "The team were not all 'sound' as risks were taken in Todd's and Byrne's cases, but it was Hobson's choice as the others were in most cases on the injured list." *NZH*: 29 January 1908, p.8, c.2.



tour, some complained that forgetting the old rules was as much a problem as remembering the new ones. It would be tempting to blame youth and inexperience as a main cause of the difficulties. But if the ages of the players are examined, we can see that the best players, or those classed as the main team, had a broad spread of ages. In fact they included one of the youngest players (Wrigley – 20 years) and the oldest player (Smith – 35 years), as well as several from the large group of mid-range ages (24–25 years). So there does not seem to be one particular age factor that could be easily picked out as the reason for not adapting to the game.

#### AGES OF PLAYERS.

1st choice		2nd choice		3rd choice		Last choice	
		<b>FORWARDS</b>					
Gilchrist	23	Wright	23	Mackrell	25	Dunning	28
Trevarthen	26	Pearce	25	Lile	21	Callum	29
Byrne	23						
Cross	29						
Johnston	25						
		<b>BACKS</b>					
Turtill	27	Rowe	24	Lavery	27	Gleeson	24
Messenger	24	Tyler *	26	Tyne	30		
Smith	35	Kelly	20	McGregor	25		
Wrigley	20	W. Wynyard	25				
Todd	24						
R. Wynyard	22						

**Table 4** \* Tyler also filled in as a forward.

Vile weather conditions also took their toll – rain, hail, snow, bitterly cold winds, and freezing temperatures. This adverse weather had a flow on effect upon both the game and the team. It made the grounds at times unfit to play on, which in New Zealand would have led to the postponement or cancellation of the match. In such heavy wet conditions the New Zealand team were neither as fast nor as capable as they proved to be on dry grounds:

The heavy going of the past five or six weeks has been all against the Colonials, who showed last week, on the return of dry grounds, that their strength lies in their speed and fielding abilities.<sup>252</sup>

This comment in the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury* was echoed by Baskiville, who stated: "There is no doubt about it, we are as good as their best on a dry ground."<sup>253</sup> When comparing the

<sup>252</sup> *LYM*. 30 December 1907.

<sup>253</sup> *Dominion*. 6 February 1908, p.4, c.2.

team's performance it is notable that they lost only five matches in dry conditions, as opposed to nine in wet, heavy conditions.

Wet greasy conditions made the ball slippery, leading to the team having to participate in further scrums – a skill which the New Zealanders took a long time to master. This in turn led to points being scored against them. Even when the team was winning on the scoreboard, their abilities in the scrum were much criticized. A report in the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury* by "Flaneur" said:

While admitting the undoubted quality of the Colonials in some departments of the game, one is bound to express a feeling of disappointment in other respects. . . . (I)n match play, they have failed to master the first essential of the modern game.<sup>254</sup>

This 'first essential of the modern game' continued to cause problems for the team. It got so bad after the Wigan defeat that the New Zealand Management Committee asked the Northern Union Committee for a firm ruling on the scrum formation and rules in an attempt to help relieve the situation. While this was forthcoming to some extent,<sup>255</sup> there was not much the New Zealanders could do other than adapt to the different conditions as quickly as they could. Right from the start, Baskiville had said that they must change to suit the Northern Union style:

The All Blacks started with a 2-3 scrum formation, but found that the heavier Bramley pack, composed of six forwards, was too strong for them. Towards the end of the game Tyler went into the pack, and thereafter it was 3-2-1. This worked better than the old placement.<sup>256</sup>

J.H. Smith noted that "the New Zealanders have never played the 2-3 formation right through a match, and have, as a matter of fact, only used it experimentally in one or two of the earlier games".<sup>257</sup> "Bumper" Wright commented that they would have to "seriously tackle the [scrum] difficulty", but although the methods used were totally different to anything he had

---

<sup>254</sup> *LYM*: 25 November 1907.

<sup>255</sup> Haynes p. 112-113. See Appendix H for Northern Union ruling

<sup>256</sup> *NZH*: 20 November 1907, p.8, c 2.

<sup>257</sup> *AN*: 23 December 1907.

experienced before, he "did not anticipate much trouble".<sup>258</sup> The following quote by "Flaneur" in the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury* throws a little more light upon the scrum formation of the New Zealanders and their problem in this area:

The New Zealand forwards worked to a system. They packed three-two-one throughout, with Lile, Tyler and Trevarthen in the front row, Wright and Pearce in the second, and Johnston last man in. This formation was never changed, yet the Colonials did not get the ball nearly so frequently as Keighley, who sometimes packed four, and even five, in the front line. But the Keighley men, with their lack of system, were down first; they got first push and possession.<sup>259</sup>

Much of the 'problem' stemmed from the New Zealanders assigning a specific role for each man in the scrums, instead of it being 'first-man-in' like their opposition. This meant that they were waiting for their team-mates to arrive before they packed down. Once packed down, the opposition placed the ball in the scrums. But the New Zealanders seemed to be not quite ready, and were therefore slower in hooking the ball. The *Manchester Guardian* noticed that "when the half back was not quite so quick in getting the ball in they fared better and as often as not won the scrum."<sup>260</sup> That the New Zealanders were working on their weakness in the scrums, can be seen by the diminishing reports in the papers. Comments that started from: "The chief trouble has undoubtedly been the inability of the forwards to adapt themselves to the Northern Union scrummage formation"<sup>261</sup> changed to: "their working of the scrummages seemed to suggest that their one great obstacle had at length been overcome."<sup>262</sup> These comments were made before and after the win against Hull. The following three games were all losses. But in the Dewsbury/Batley game on 30th November the New Zealanders changed their scrum formation, and this, along with fine weather, meant they won by 18 points to 8. After the Swinton match four days later Baskiville said:

---

<sup>258</sup> *AN*: 14 October 1907.

<sup>259</sup> *LYM*. 6 November 1907

<sup>260</sup> *MG*: 25 November 1907

<sup>261</sup> *LYM*. 15 November 1907.

<sup>262</sup> *AN*: 18 November 1907.

Seldom have I seen the All Black forwards to more advantage. They packed better and got possession from the scrummage twice out of every three times, while in the loose there was no comparison between the two sets.<sup>263</sup>

This was a much better performance from the All Blacks, considering that against Leigh a few weeks previously they "were completely swamped in the forward division, and did not get the ball from the pack once in seven scrummages."<sup>264</sup> Against Rochdale (three days after the Swinton match) they played with four in the front row, and "the All Blacks gave a brilliant exhibition."<sup>265</sup> "Forward" commented:

To the New Zealand forwards must the credit of victory be given. . . . The New Zealand forwards possessed method, and their dribbling had an object. . . . Every man in the Colonial six was determined, it is evident they have found their feet in more ways than one."<sup>266</sup>

A few weeks later "Flaneur" in the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury* said, "It is unfortunate for the 'Blacks' that the worst of football weather should have come down upon them at a time when they seem, after long striving, to have mastered the secret of getting possession at the scrummages".<sup>267</sup> The team were obviously working hard to eliminate the problems they had in the scrums. Against Yorkshire, "they quite held their own [in the scrummages], and without doubt they can be said now to have mastered most of the little artifices that are adopted for getting possession of the ball".<sup>268</sup>

From a financial perspective, had both the weather and their form been of a higher standard, the team would have done much better financially than they did. In spite of this, by the end of the first month or so they had already cleared the expenses of the tour, and from then on it was all profit. J.C. Gleeson, secretary for the team, wrote in a letter to an official of the Auckland Rugby Union:

---

<sup>263</sup> *Dominion*: 16 January 1908, p.4, c.1.

<sup>264</sup> *MG*: 21 November 1907

<sup>265</sup> *NZH*: 22 January 1908, p.6, c.7

<sup>266</sup> *AN*: 9 December 1907, p.2.

<sup>267</sup> *LYM*: 16 December 1907.

<sup>268</sup> *YP*: 20 January 1908.

In nine matches played so far we have far exceeded the takings of [the] last team. We expect tremendous gates at Wigan, Oldham, and Hunslet (December 26). After next week it will be all profits, as the expenses are now all paid. . . . I honestly think this tour will realize £10,000 profits.<sup>269</sup>

Considering that they lost quite a number of games, and that most matches had 'season-ticket holders' who did not pay admission, the attendances had exceeded all expectations. Consequently, the financial results were remarkable, even taking into account admission charges were frequently double the normal price.<sup>270</sup> The Widnes, Broughton Rangers and Wakefield Trinity matches netted a total of £1036-10-8, while the Leeds, St. Helens, Merthyr, and Keighley games totalled £965-7-10. The collective takings from the Wigan, Barrow, Hull and Leigh matches was £1731-6-8.<sup>271</sup> Much to his credit, Baskiville published the financial details of the tour as it was progressing, giving reports of the crowd numbers and gate receipts to date. This went some way to proving they were not going to be the failure that many had predicted at the beginning of the tour.

The team needed to perform well, because the £3000 guarantee put up by the Northern Union was only barely sufficient to cover the expenses of the journey, let alone hotel bills and living expenses. If the tour had not been the financial success that it was, team members would have had to pay up to cover the costs of the visit.<sup>272</sup>

The New Zealand team has had a pretty lengthy programme, engaging in all [35] matches, as compared with 28 by the South Africans last season and 33 by the All Blacks in 1905-6. . . . As it is, the receipts are stated to have been extremely good, with a best of £1500 at Wigan, and the *Athletic News* states that the total was £14,743, which will give each member about £150 after all expenses and 'table money' of £1 per week have been deducted.<sup>273</sup>

As stated, each player came away somewhere in the vicinity of £150 to £300 better off (depending on the reports). Some players remained in England. Individual members of the

---

<sup>269</sup> *Dominion*: 18 December 1907, p.8, c.4. (Letter dated 7 November.)

<sup>270</sup> The usual prices for admission were 6d and 6d extra for stands, but for the games against the New Zealanders these prices were doubled. *The Bulletin*: 12 August 1908, p.10, c.8

<sup>271</sup> *AN*: 4 November 1907; Haynes, p. 105, 113. Northern Union minutes 12 November 1907; 26 November 1907.

<sup>272</sup> *AN*: 2 March 1908.

<sup>273</sup> *The London Sportsman*, quoted in *Sydney Morning Herald (SMH)*: 25 March 1908, p.12, c.4. See also report in *AN*: 24 February 1908, and Appendix G for Tour costs.

team, like Smith and Todd, secured lucrative Northern Union contracts: Smith had been offered, and accepted, a contract to play with Oldham, while Todd took up a contract with Wigan, and was also staying for business reasons to gain his trade diploma as a tailor's cutter. McGregor also stayed on to do business in Gloucester, while Lavery and Gleeson remained behind to tour Ireland.<sup>274</sup>

Press coverage of the tour in England showed up the differences between the northern and southern papers. Northern papers naturally tended to be more supportive of the All Golds, as northern rugby was 'their game'. Likewise, southern papers tended to be more pro-rugby as that was 'their game'. So it was not surprising that opposing views and variable amounts of coverage, support and emphasis were produced.

Comparisons too between the current team and the 1905 All Blacks were never far away, despite the fact that many acknowledged that it was unfair, difficult, and even misleading to do so. Supporters of the Northern Union initially held that the All Golds were stronger than the 1905 All Blacks, while the amateur Rugby supporters considered them to be a 'scratch' side. However overall, commentators conceded that while there were some players up to the standards of any national side, namely Smith, Todd and Messenger, they would not go as far as saying that the whole team was better than the 1905 amateur team.<sup>275</sup> *The Times*, blatantly anti-Northern Union, sniped:

Comparing the visitors with the famous 1905-1906 side, it is doubtful if this team is as rich in all-round players. . . . On the whole, as a form of fast and furious exercise, the Northern Union game will pass, but it is a mere travesty of the game which emanated from Rugby school, and sadly lacks all the real game's finest points.<sup>276</sup>

As the tour continued, the Press tone became disappointed yet at the same time expectant. Many reporters were mystified by the team's topsy-turvy performances. Support

---

<sup>274</sup> *AN*: 17 February 1908; *Dominion*: 12 March 1908, p.9, c 5; 1 April 1908, p 4, c 1 *NZH*: 11 April 1908, p.10, c.2.

<sup>275</sup> *MG*: 10 October 1907. For example of criticism being difficult see *SMH*: 15 November 1907, p.8, c.8.

<sup>276</sup> *The Times*, quoted in *EP*: 22 November 1907, p.4, c.4.

was often there from northern papers, but the southern press often became brutal and dismissive of both the team and their form. For example, a correspondent with *The London Daily Telegraph*, a southern paper, reported that

the record of the New Zealand team is rapidly being spoiled. The third reversal was sustained yesterday when the team was decisively beaten by Leigh, who from start to finish played resolute football, indicating keenness to lower the colonial's colours. The form of the latter was disappointing with weakness being shown both in attack and defence.<sup>277</sup>

This comment was made after only three defeats! It shows a very different perspective from that of 'J.W.P.' of Wakefield, who in his letter in the *Leeds Yorkshire Mercury* wrote:

Sir – It is really surprising the way in which some writers have criticised the 'All Blacks' play, and compared them as being inferior to the 'All Blacks' who came over and 'wiped off the board' the Rugby Union clubs a couple of seasons ago. No credit has been given them (at least not by much) for the fact that they have been strange to the rules – different rules from the Rugby Union – the playing of thirteen men instead of fifteen, and, further, that they are playing the cream of English football. I doubt very much if the first 'All Blacks', under Gallaher, would have done so well as Wright's men did at Broughton on Saturday under similar circumstances and conditions. . . . It is all very well saying, as one writer puts it, that 'the fact remains that the present combination have not realized all that has been expected of them'; but he should have added that the New Zealanders are now playing class, and not a set of 'schoolboys' such as those who represented Yorkshire Rugby Union in their encounter at Headingley on that Wednesday in December, when the New Zealanders put up forty points against the apology of the team representing the 'White Rose'.<sup>278</sup>

New Zealand press coverage tended to be taken from reports in the large London papers, and as these were southern papers, and New Zealand a rugby playing colony, the angle presented was fairly predictable. It certainly did not follow the same style as that written about the 1905 All Blacks. Because the All Golds were not winning all their games, the New Zealand press continually compared the two teams with each other, particularly emphasizing the differing aspects of amateur and professional sport. Interest in the amateur All Blacks had been immense, never waning until they returned to New Zealand. By comparison, press coverage of the 'professional' All Golds was confined to a few lines, with

---

<sup>277</sup> *The London Daily Telegraph*, quoted in *EP*: 27 December 1907, p 3, c.4. See also *NZH* 3 February 1908, p.8, c.5-6.

<sup>278</sup> *LYM*. 22 October 1907.

the main interest being the size of the gate. A typical conservative, pro-Rugby, pro-amateur New Zealand reaction can be seen from *The Press*:

Apart from the feeling we all have, that for the credit of the Dominion we do not like to see a team of New Zealanders beaten by English club teams, comparatively few people are concerned with the fortunes of the professionals. And for ourselves we regard their frequent defeats with all the less regret, because they can hardly fail to discredit professional football. The formation of the team was a misfortune from the point of view of clean sport, but its ill effects in that direction will probably be considerably minimized if the English tour falls as short of the anticipated success as seems probable.<sup>279</sup>

The same sort of angle was presented in Australia when the *Sydney Morning Herald's* London Correspondent, wrote:

whatever may be the financial result, the first professional touring venture has not been the football success that was anticipated. The amateur Rugby bodies are naturally elated, as they hope that this result will give the professional movement a setback, or, at least, prevent the spread of its influence which might have been feared from a triumphal tour of these New Zealanders in any way resembling that of the All Blacks.<sup>280</sup>

As the team sustained more losses, the press discord became louder. This was when 'out of the woodwork' came the anti-Northern Union / pro-Rugby Union supporters. They used the defeats as a chance to justify their game and their position in relation to the Northern Union's professionalism. Some even called the team a disgrace and a discredit to New Zealand Rugby, and said that they had expected the team to lose all along.<sup>281</sup> The comment according to *The Sydney Referee*, that 'the professionals' "are frankly here for the money, and no one attaches much importance to their losing or winning a match"<sup>282</sup> is typical of the propaganda statements emanating from supporters of the amateur game: "It must be remembered", commented Mr Hamish Stuart, a well-known Scottish football authority,

that the professional tourists, who are only professionals-in-law according to themselves, have been called upon to play a weirdly mongrel and macerated

---

<sup>279</sup> *The Press* quoted in *Dominion*: 6 December 1907, p 11, c.1. See also *EP*: 14 April 1908, p.3, c 5. for report on Northern Union fillip

<sup>280</sup> Quoted in *Dominion* 2 January 1908, p.5, c.5.

<sup>281</sup> For examples, see *Dominion* 6 December 1907, p.11, c.1. *EP*: 27 January 1908, p.6, c.7 *NZH*: 9 December 1907, p 8, c.3.

<sup>282</sup> *The Referee*. 12 February 1908, p.6, c.5.



form of Rugby football, which they cannot like nearly so much as, for politic reasons, they say they do, and which they cannot possibly have mastered.

He continued with his biting criticism of the Northern Union game:

Then their [the All Golds] weakness in defence may be more apparent than real, especially when judged from the point of view of Rugby proper. One is apt to forget that the Northern Union game is played by only thirteen men, that the halves are hampered in spoiling owing to the rigid rule that the half cannot follow the ball, and must be behind the last of his forwards, and that punting into touch is a defence act forbidden by the rules.<sup>283</sup>

Rugby Union propaganda no less, although it is interesting to note that he had also criticized the amateur All Blacks in 1905. Mr. Stuart in describing the 'problems' of the Northern Union games, pointed out the perceived 'deficiencies' that Northern Unionists would say were some of the problems associated with 'good old Rugby'. Rugby Unionists were, however, pleased that the All Golds were losing, feeling that it would have a negative effect on the Northern Union. But they still had some concerns because the tour was resulting in considerable publicity for the Northern Union, irrespective of the seemingly poor results.

Mr. Hamish Stuart also mentioned an aspect of the tour not touched upon before:

There is a large section of the Rugby-loving world who do not want, and will not have, football 'on commercial principles', simply because football on such lines becomes, in their opinion, a debased sport, which has an injurious effect upon the national character – a broad aspect of the matter which received far too little attention.<sup>284</sup>

This comment implies that as sports players represent their country while overseas, the only 'suitable' kind of representative would be an amateur player. Such nationalistic overtones of the tour were not common. Two other reports were both positive. The first was an article that appeared in *The Athletic News* just after the New Zealanders had arrived in England, where the writer stated:

The players themselves . . . are determined to uphold the honour of their Colony. We shall be given the famous war cry of the old Maoris prior to the commencement of each game, but the motto of the combination is to be 'For our country, New Zealand'. For New Zealand they will endeavour to defeat

---

<sup>283</sup> *The Referee* 15 January 1908, p.10, c.5.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid*, 8 January 1908, p.6, c.4.

every opposing side; for New Zealand they will try to be honest in their play; for New Zealand, and New Zealand football traditions, the men have solemnly signed a declaration to 'do nothing during their sojourn in this country which will bring dishonour on our country, New Zealand'.<sup>285</sup>

The other was in a report in whereby Mr. Palmer said:

if all the men who have been here before us, and all that may come after us, have had and will have the interest of their honour and the honour of our country as much at heart as the present team had, New Zealand will never have anything to be ashamed of.<sup>286</sup>

Baskiville felt that the team's conduct was all that could be expected from a touring team. They had all acquitted themselves very well off the field, with no cause for complaint. The whole team had been treated extremely well by the people in the North. At every venue and town where the All Golds played, they were greeted by large crowds and given 'tremendous welcomes'. Dinners in their honour and even trips to see all the various sights and highlights of each particular town or city were the norm. Baskiville commented upon the welcome the team received wherever it went, stating:

I cannot possibly say enough about the way we have been received everywhere. On arriving at each of the cities or big towns we have always been welcomed by the Lord Mayor, or Mayor, as the case may be, in person. Our reception has always been simply magnificent, and the hospitality showered upon us has been most lavish. . .<sup>287</sup>

This comment draws out the strong contrast between the situation in New Zealand and that of their hosts in the North of England. The fact that the Northern Union game was firmly embedded within the community and was a strong part of community life, shows the importance of the game in the North. This can be seen by the welcomes from the people, the dinners, and even Mayoral Receptions, all given in honour of the All Golds. The All Golds had no such ties with their communities. Nor did they have any class links. Instead they were a group of individuals who had joined together for an entrepreneurial venture.

---

<sup>285</sup> *AN*: 7 October 1907.

<sup>286</sup> *EP*: 6 March 1908, p.2, c.8.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid*, 17 March 1908, p.5, c.2.

*The Times* printed an article commenting upon the state of the tour as seen from an anti-Northern Union, pro-Rugby Union viewpoint:

The visit is a much more serious affair than was generally anticipated. The team is certainly not so good, man for man, as Gallaher's team; but the writer's impression is that at their best they are quite as strong, individually and collectively, as a fair international side in this country. Unlike Gallaher's team, however, they have not been careful to keep in good condition. The financial success of the tour – 70 % of gross gates which is theirs by arrangement with the Northern Union, having already brought in nearly twice the guaranteed £3000 – seems to have demoralized several members of the team, who, when at home, are merely wage labourers, well content to earn two pounds a week in field or factory. It is highly probable that the majority of the visitors will eventually accept engagements with Northern Union clubs.

In the course of his article the writer says that no doubt the New Zealanders have been, and still are handicapped by the unfamiliar and unnatural rules invented by the Northern Union. They have not yet overcome the natural desire to try to take the ball away from a tackled player.<sup>288</sup>

These particular comments in *The Times* caused both Baskiville and Palmer to write letters denouncing the statement that they were 'demoralized'. An interesting letter written to Mr B.C. Barnes of Petone, by Mr. Palmer said:

I see by the New Zealand papers to hand that we are reported as being demoralized on account of our financial success. I would like you to say that this is altogether wrong. I can assure you that nothing could be better for the success of the tour than the way the men looked after themselves and their conduct on and off the field is everything that could be desired by their best friends. We are losing matches, and no one deplores it more than the members of the team. . . . When men are doing their best it is very hard to find people writing about us as being demoralized. That word may be misconstrued.<sup>289</sup>

Baskiville, speaking to *The Evening Post's* London Correspondent, said:

It was a most unjust and untrue thing to say. It gave our friends in New Zealand the idea that having made money here by football we had taken to drink and dissipation and that therefore our play as well as our morals must be going to pieces. You see, in New Zealand they don't attach the same meaning to the expression 'demoralization' in this connection as people do in England, where it merely meant that our financial success had intoxicated us in the sense that it rendered us unduly confident or reckless or careless in our play and so brought about defeats. But even that had no foundation in fact. What

---

<sup>288</sup> *The Times* 3 December 1907, quoted in *EP* 9 January 1908, p.3, c.6.

<sup>289</sup> *EP* 6 March 1908, p.2, c 8

does our 'financial success' really mean to us personally? Why nothing at all! All the money is banked, not spent by us. All we get while on tour is an allowance of £1 a week each. . . .<sup>290</sup>

The five month tour had culminated in a Test series win for the All Blacks. The schedule had been a gruelling one, and the players were exhausted. After the first few weeks weather conditions deteriorated drastically, and stronger opposition showed up the lack of depth in the team. So any illness or injury made a significant impact, leaving a very limited number of players to choose from. Not all players had adjusted well to the new game and its rules. Scrums in particular were a weakness that the team had to work at and overcome. Certainly the losses in most of the 'rep' games can be partly attributed to the fact that these games were being played at the end of the tour. By this stage all the players were thoroughly tired and stale, having been away from home and playing constantly for five months. Nevertheless, they were able to 'rise to the occasion' for the crucial Test matches. All looked forward to the return journey, when the boat trip would give them some much needed time for rest.

---

<sup>290</sup> *EP*. 17 March 1908, p.5, c.2.

## CHAPTER 5.

### THE ALL GOLDS RETURN: FOUNDATIONS OF RUGBY LEAGUE IN AUSTRALASIA.

While the All Golds were playing in England moves were taking place in Australia to get the code on a more established footing. With Messenger being a key player in the team that travelled to England, Australian interest in the new game was quickly kindled, and the suggested possibility of a New South Wales team being able to tour England in 1908 became the spur to action. The All Golds had carried to England a letter from Giltinan, who wrote to inform the Northern Union that Australia had formed a league body, and that it wished to arrange a visit in 1908 – a tour like that of the current All Golds.<sup>291</sup> The Northern Union treated this request in the same manner as it had dealt with the New Zealand request. Circulars were sent to Northern Union clubs asking them whether they would be willing to guarantee another tour. While many felt that the tour should have been delayed a year, in general, responses were favourable. J.H. Smith, in an article written in the *Athletic News* said:

It is an open secret that the managers of the Northern Union were almost unanimously of the opinion that it would be better to postpone the tour until the following season, but the promoters of professionalism in Australia were so persistent in their appeals for immediate action, and were able to advance such strong arguments to show that sending a team to the home country would promote the interests of professionalism in the Colonies, that the Northern Union Committee finally agreed to their proposals.

It has been suggested that it would have been wise to have at least delayed final decision until April (when the 'All Blacks' play their series of matches on the return journey), but this would have resulted in the arrangement of details in connection with the tour being thrown practically until the last moment, and thus the inconvenience and dissatisfaction caused by having to complete arrangements by cable – which was a feature of the New Zealand trip – would have been again experienced.

The onus of the responsibility now rests with the tourists themselves, and their team will have to be at least equal to the 'All Blacks' to ensure financial success. . . .<sup>292</sup>

---

<sup>291</sup> *Yorkshire Post* 2 October 1907

<sup>292</sup> *Athletic News (AN)*: 2 March 1908.

In Australia, clubs were being formed and players were beginning to learn the new game in anticipation of the forthcoming tour. The New South Wales Rugby Football League (NSWRL) adopted the rules of the Northern Rugby Football Union (Northern Union) and drafted a constitution along those lines. During the Australian summer of 1907 – 08, meetings were held to set up clubs, and in total eight district clubs were formed in preparation for the beginning of the season on the weekend of 20 April. These clubs were Balmain, Eastern Suburbs, Glebe, Newcastle, Newtown, North Sydney, South Sydney and Western Suburbs.<sup>293</sup>

Glebe was the first club formed. At a meeting held in the Glebe Town Hall on 9 January 1908, H. Hoyle, the President of the NSWRL, spoke to the gathering:

The League was formed because it was believed that the set of conditions controlling the Football Union were not suitable to the democracy and social conditions of the Australian people. . . .<sup>294</sup>

He then reiterated the aims of the League and its plans covering reimbursement for time lost.

The belief that Newtown was the first club formed is wrong, according to newspaper reports of the time.<sup>295</sup> Ian Heads attributes the error to a Newtown minute book which states that the first meeting was held on 8 January 1908. But this report is unsigned, and Heads believes it was possibly written up after the second meeting which was in February.<sup>296</sup> Newtown was in fact the second club formed on 14 January. At its meeting the many advantages that players would gain under the auspices of the league were reiterated, with the meeting unanimously resolving to form a club to be affiliated with the NSWRL.<sup>297</sup>

---

<sup>293</sup> *New Zealand Herald (HZZH)*: August 24, p 8, c.2; Eric Bennetts, *The Rugby League Annual 1933* (Auckland, 1933), p 27; Chris Cunneen, "The Rugby War" in Cashman & McKernan, *Sport in History* (Queensland, 1979), p.297, Murray Phillips, "Football, Class & War", in Nauright & Chandler, *Making Men, Rugby and Masculine Identity*, (London, 1996), p.162; Alan Whiticker & Ian Collis, *Rugby League Test Matches in Australia* (Sydney, 1994), p 11.

<sup>294</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald (SMH)*: 10 January 1908, p.7, c.4.

<sup>295</sup> See: *Ibid*, 15 January 1908, p.8, c.7; *The Sydney Referee (The Referee)*: 22 January 1908, p.6, c.5.

<sup>296</sup> Ian Heads, *True Blue* (Australia, 1992), p. 51

<sup>297</sup> *SMH*: 15 January 1908, p 8, c.7

South Sydney was next to be formed, after a meeting held in the Redfern Town Hall on 17 January. Fliers handed out by officials after the meeting said:

South Sydney – all footballers in the district should join this club for these reasons: play for yourself and your club's advantage; or, play for the Union to their advantage, and no return for yourself. Savee? <sup>298</sup>

The fourth club sprang into being at the Balmain Town Hall. In the chair was John Storey MLA, the member for Balmain and future NSW premier, who told the audience that

Balmain had not received justice in regard to football, and that the players had been slighted by the union. Football had been partly ruined in Balmain by the absence of local games, the outcome of the action of the union. Birchgrove Park was one of the finest grounds in Australia, and he saw no necessity for the games to be taken away from the local centre as they had been. <sup>299</sup>

Giltinan, secretary of the NSWRL, moved, "That we form a club, to affiliate with the New South Wales League." And Mr. Hutcheson seconded the motion which was unanimously carried. <sup>300</sup> The next evening an Eastern Suburbs club was formed after a meeting in the Paddington Town Hall, and this was followed by the formation of Western Suburbs on 4 February, and North Sydney on 7 February. <sup>301</sup>

The League tried to get a team from Newcastle to join at a meeting on 8 February. However, it was two months before Newcastle joined, becoming the eighth team in the competition. Owing to the lack of a suitable ground in Newcastle, this team had to travel to Sydney for its matches. <sup>302</sup> The ninth club was formed on the first day of the season, 20 April, when members of the Western Suburbs Rugby Union club met and signed up as the Cumberland club. <sup>303</sup> On 28 March the Queensland Rugby Association (later the QRL) was formed – even though it had no teams at the time. <sup>304</sup>

---

<sup>298</sup> Heads, p.53

<sup>299</sup> *SMH*. 27 January 1908, p.10, c.5.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid.

<sup>301</sup> *The Referee*: 29 January 1908, p 9, c 8 ; 12 February 1908, p 6, c 5, Heads, p. 51

<sup>302</sup> Ibid, p.56.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid, p.59. Cumberland was a short lived team, folding at the end of the season.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid, p.58.

Instruction was given to help players identify the differences in the new game. With the help of Alex Burdon and Arthur Hennessy, a Sydney-domiciled English footballer – Tom McCabe, gave lectures to the players about the game and its rules, and also provided the practical guidance they so desperately needed.<sup>305</sup> A Possibles v. Probables match, staged by South Sydney on 21 March, was the first formal game played under Northern Union rules in Sydney. Then on 20 April 1908, Easter Monday, the Australian competition began. There were four first grade matches, as well as an equal number of second and third grade games. The league secured the use of the Agricultural Ground, Wentworth Park and Birchgrove Reserve for the 1908 season.<sup>306</sup> As the Agricultural Ground was being used for the Easter Show, the first games were held at the other two venues. In all, about 3000 attended, with £79 taken at Wentworth Park (6 pence admission and an extra 6 pence for the grandstand) and £40 at Birchgrove (6 pence admission).<sup>307</sup> An editorial in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, on the advent of Winter Sports in the country, had this to say about the beginning of the league season:

The lately-formed New South Wales League may deny that it exists to foster professionalism; but the public will scarcely appreciate the distinction which it draws between 'compensation' to players for 'loss of time' and straight-out remuneration for their services. Professionalism has killed every other sport it has touched. . . . Whether football will escape unscathed remains to be seen. It is too new a development both here and in New Zealand to enable us yet to judge the effect, but the odds are heavily in favour of its being harmful. When professionalism comes in at the door, the spirit of sport generally prepares to fly out the window. While amateurism holds the preponderating place in the game, however, the immediate effect of the professional intrusion will most probably be to quicken rivalry, and provide those who take their sport vicariously with more exciting entertainments. That, however, is quite a different thing from furthering the sport of Rugby football as a national game.<sup>308</sup>

Again, this shows the influence of the *Sydney Morning Herald's* British editor, and the class perspective of Sydney's oldest and biggest newspaper. The paper was read by most wealthy people, and was the one in which they placed most of their advertizing.

---

<sup>305</sup> Heads, p.59.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid, p.58, *The Referee*: 11 March 1908, p 9, c 6

<sup>307</sup> Ibid, 22 April 1908, p.8, c.6.

<sup>308</sup> *SMH*: 18 April 1908, p.12, c 5-6



Following the English tour, the New Zealanders returned via Australia, where they were to play a series of games under Northern Union rules. By the time they arrived in Australia in April, they had been touring for eight months. It had been arranged for the All Golds to pass on their extended knowledge of the game by attending club matches or training sessions where possible.<sup>309</sup> They began their Australian tour with warm-up matches against Newcastle, both of which they won comfortably. It was therefore something of a surprise when they were defeated in their first match against New South Wales by 18 points to 10. The NSWRL players were paid 5/- for each of their matches against the All Golds.<sup>310</sup> Reports about the new game were very enthusiastic. For example, *The Bulletin* praised the display by saying "a fast, open game, full of reckless dash, with bursts of splendid play, made a spectacle that drove over 11,000 people wild with excitement."<sup>311</sup> Even the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported:

Perfect weather for the spectator, a shade on the warm side for the player, and an attendance of 14,000 were the conditions under which the All Blacks met a team representing the New South Wales League at the Agricultural Ground on Saturday. . . . This was the first big match under these rules in Sydney, and there was some uncertainty as to how the public would view it. Many went out to the ground out of curiosity – they remained to applaud. It was a splendid game in all departments.<sup>312</sup>

For a completely new game at its first appearance, crowd numbers were quite creditable.

As far as the results go, one needs to take into account that five members of the All Golds had stayed behind in England, and Messenger was now playing with the opposition in the New South Wales side. The reserve players who were not up to the demands of Northern Union football now had to be used in the team, so it is easy to explain the losses. "Want of condition" was how the All Golds explained their defeat; a lack of match play and too much "surf bathing".<sup>313</sup>

---

<sup>309</sup> Heads, p.70

<sup>310</sup> Ibid, p.69

<sup>311</sup> *The Bulletin*: 7 May 1908, p.28, c.1.

<sup>312</sup> *SMH* 4 May 1908, p 7, c 7.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid, 6 May 1908, p.9, c 7.

Despite having "gone in for training", the All Golds lost the second New South Wales match, though this time the result was much closer, with New South Wales winning by 13 points to 10. Both teams fielded changed lineups. The first Test against Australia saw New Zealand "in the presence of 20,000 people at the Agricultural Ground . . . defeat Australia by the narrow margin of a single point – 11 to 10."<sup>314</sup> The press considered the Australian team a great disappointment; with the blame being placed on the three Queensland players who were included in the team – to make it more 'representative' of Australia. A reporter for the *Sydney Morning Herald* commented: "It is pretty safe to say that if another match were to be played now in Sydney there would be a big alteration in the composition of the home side."<sup>315</sup>

The second Test against Australia was a much more convincing game, with New Zealand winning by 24 points to 12. The third Test (and final match of the Australian tour) was considered "a big disappointment" because "the form was below that of any match played in the present series".<sup>316</sup> Australia won by 14 points to 9. A reporter for *The Bulletin* commented:

The truth of the matter is that both teams had gone frightfully stale, and the result was a match that was dreary to look upon. The Maorilanders were, excepting Wrigley, absolutely dead, and on the Australian side Messenger was off colour. He has been playing football for about 12 months right away now, and badly requires a spell.<sup>317</sup>

The general apathy among the New Zealand players, while due in part to the long arduous tour of 10 months travelling and playing football, was mainly a direct result of circumstances that happened during the Queensland leg of the tour. Between the first and second Australian Test matches, the All Golds played three matches against Queensland, winning the first two by substantial margins. The reasons for their draw in the third match have their roots in the tragedy that was about to befall them.

---

<sup>314</sup> *SMH*: 11 May 1908, p.5, c.3.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 June 1908, p.5, c.3.

<sup>317</sup> *The Bulletin*. 11 June 1908, p 28, c.2.

When the team arrived in Brisbane, Baskiville did not feel well. The next day he went for a light training run, but he did not play in the match on Saturday. On Sunday he was feeling quite ill, and the doctor ordered him to be moved to the Victoria private hospital as he was suffering from pneumonia. However his condition worsened rapidly. When the team returned to their hotel from the match on Wednesday 20th May, and phoned to ask how Baskiville was, they were informed that his condition was 'extremely precarious'. They rushed to the hospital and arrived just in time to be there as Baskiville died.<sup>318</sup> This was a major shock to the players and all those who knew him. The following eulogy was published in the *Australian Star*:

He [Baskiville] was the promoter and organizer of the professional Rugby movement in New Zealand. He alone made all arrangements for the great tour just completed by the 'All Blacks'. He fought unaided the powerful New Zealand Rugby Union. He however, was not to be denied, and stuck to his guns, and formed up a team composed 'of the cream of New Zealand football.' He was a fine stamp of athlete, standing well on towards six feet, and splendidly proportioned. His weight in training was about 13st. He was the ideal Rugby footballer, and one of the best judges of the game in New Zealand, as well as a very able coach and writer. His well-known book 'Modern Rugby Football', has been, and still is, widely read.

The 'All Blacks' tour was an unprecedented success, and the movement started by Mr. Baskiville will serve to keep his memory green as long as professional football lasts in New Zealand and Australia. He gained many friends among those with whom he had business dealings. Mr. Pratt, secretary of the Northern Rugby Union, England, and Mr. J.J. Giltinan, secretary of the New South Wales Rugby Football League, both said publicly that if Mr. Baskiville consented to a movement his word was sufficient bond. It is not only among League Rugby players that Mr. Baskiville's death will be regretted, but among all who follow the game, for although he took a stand against the New Zealand and other Rugby Unions as a body, he still retained the members of the various unions as fast friends.<sup>319</sup>

Baskiville's body was embalmed in Brisbane and brought to Sydney by train. His body was then accompanied by Mr. Palmer (manager), H.R. Wright (captain), Turtill (vc), Mackrell, and Kelly for the journey to Wellington by the steamer, the *Monowai*. The rest of the players were reported to be 'much depressed', and unanimously wished to abandon the remaining games of the tour so that they could attend the funeral in Wellington. But the New

---

<sup>318</sup> *Dominion*: 29 May 1908, p 9, c 5; *NZH*: 1 June 1908, p 6, c 7

<sup>319</sup> *Dominion*: 29 May 1908, p.9, c 5 Also see Appendix I

South Wales Rugby League felt it 'imperative' that the tour continue, owing to the financial obligations that had been entered into.<sup>320</sup>

The Queensland Rugby Union sent a letter of condolence and a wreath, which according to *The Referee* was beautiful. The writer had "never seen anything to equal it".<sup>321</sup> As a tribute to Baskerville, flags were flown at half mast, and the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported:

The death of Mr. A.H. Baskerville cast a gloom over all the football grounds, and especially those where league matches were being played. On all grounds, union and league, flags were flown at half-mast, and league players wore black bands. The late Mr. Baskerville was probably entitled to be considered as much as anyone else the founder of the new Rugby in Australasia.<sup>322</sup>

After the last Test the remainder of the New Zealand team sadly returned to New Zealand. "The prospects of professionalism in New Zealand and Australia", said Mr. Mackrell, "will receive a big blow by the death of Mr. Baskerville, and it is now impossible to say what will happen."<sup>323</sup>

A Maori team was the next to play a series of matches in Australia. Things were progressing steadily in preparation for a Kangaroos tour to England later on in the year. Giltinan was appointed manager for the Kangaroos, and did most of the organizing and arrangements. It too would be a gruelling tour encompassing three tests, two internationals, county and club matches – in all, 46 matches, with a team of 34 members. An article written by E.E. Booth, a 1907 All Black (amateur), predicted the problems that would plague the Kangaroos during their tour:

Candidly, I quite expect the New South Wales League's venture and tour in northern England to be not a great success, from either the playing or the financial standpoint. The different climatic conditions they will have to play

---

<sup>320</sup> *Dominion*: 28 May 1908, p.8, c.2, *NZH*: 1 June 1908, p.6, c.7, *SMH*: 23 May 1908, p.16, c.2.

<sup>321</sup> *The Referee*: 27 May 1908, p.9, c.2, 3

<sup>322</sup> *SMH*: 25 May 1908, p.10, c.6.

<sup>323</sup> *NZH*: 3 June 1908, p.4, c.7.

under will rob them of their present vim and crispness of style, especially if the coming winter in England is a repetition of the last one. . . .

The Australians cannot reasonably expect to excel or even equal the comparatively poor performances of the lately returned 'New Zealanders', who were inured to a cold climate, greasy ball, heavy field, and such conditions. They were under the able guidance of G.W. Smith and W. Johnston, and commandeered that brilliant 'ad' of playing under the 'role' and name of 'All Blacks', which was a sure magnet to draw crowds in Yorkshire. . . . I do not expect the League to survive long after this English tour, and cannot see how they will finance a return visit from the Northern Union people.<sup>324</sup>

Booth's comments proved to be prophetic. Unlike Baskiville's relatively successful tour, the 1908 Kangaroo tour was an unmitigated disaster. Terrible weather, economic depression in the form of a big cotton workers' strike with its resulting financial squeeze, and games that had to be played on soccer grounds, meant the Kangaroos' had problems. To add to their sense of gloom, the Wallabies also happened to be touring at the same time and were a great success. The fact that the Wallabies were in the South where the strike was not a problem gave no consolation to the Kangaroos.<sup>325</sup>

The London *Standard of the Empire* commented: "The people of the Mother Country have not attempted to disguise the fact that they are terribly disappointed with the visitors, who, if they do not quickly improve, will meet with financial disaster".<sup>326</sup> And a few weeks later:

What is most concerning the Northern Union people is not that the Australians are showing very poor form, but the fact that they have not so far proved a big public attraction. . . . Gates have been so poor that the idea of an English team of professionals touring Australia has been dropped, because it is so very obvious that it will be a very long time before the Northern Union code is established in any of our colonies.<sup>327</sup>

The tour began in early October, and ended on 8 March 1909, with the Kangaroos winning 18, drawing 6, and losing 22 matches. Like the New Zealand team, there were some who were not able to adapt to the new game and conditions. Of the 34 players, about 14

---

<sup>324</sup> *The Referee* 15 July 1908, p.9, c.2.

<sup>325</sup> Bennetts, p.28, Cunneen, p.299, Heads, p.77; Phillips, *Football, Class & War*, p.164

<sup>326</sup> Quoted in *The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail (WG&NZM)*: 2 December 1908, p.12, c.4.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid*, 23 December 1908, p.9, c.2-3

played less than 10 games.<sup>328</sup> In terms reminiscent of Baskiville and his team, Giltinan, in a letter to his brother, complained:

Our boys cannot win a game lately, luck dead against them. We are having nothing but rain, snow, sleet and cold . . . why, you cannot feel your hands and feet and the referees are cruel, don't give us anything at all. The weather is something vile . . . enough to break your heart.<sup>329</sup>

As the financial returns showed no signs of improving, the players' allowance was cut from £1 to 10 shillings. In the end, the Kangaroos had to have their return fare paid for by the Northern Union, though ten players stayed behind to play with English clubs. On arriving home in May 1909, they found the League in complete disorder. Allegations of financial mismanagement had seen the original management triumvirate of Hoyle, Giltinan, and Trumper removed from office at a meeting on 15 March 1909. As a result, Giltinan was forced to carry the expenses of the tour, bankrupting himself, and the Kangaroo tour ended up £418 in the red.<sup>330</sup>

Thus the first season of professional rugby in Australia ended with Giltinan being bankrupted, the Rugby League finances in disarray, and the original founders having been discredited. As well as this, the first 'at home' season of Rugby League in Australia was only moderately successful. Fans flocked to the major international games, but overall, gates were small, and League struggled to attract crowds. The NSWRL ended its first season £500 in the red. While it had player support, it did not yet have crowd support, with many still preferring the union game. However, the game had survived.<sup>331</sup> The Rugby Union on the other hand was in a relatively solid position. The Wallabies had returned triumphant, losing only 5 of their 31 games, and also winning gold medals at the London Olympic Games. In 1908 the Rugby Union helped inaugurate the Amateur Sports Federation of New South Wales.

---

<sup>328</sup> Heads, p.73, 77

<sup>329</sup> Ibid, p.75

<sup>330</sup> Cunneen, p.299; Geoffrey Moorhouse, *A People's Game* (London, 1995), p.98, Phillips, *Rugby*, p.198; Whiticker & Collis, p.17.

<sup>331</sup> Bennetts, p.28, Cunneen, p 298-9, Heads, p 79; Phillips, *Football, Class & War*, p 163-4

Through this federation, the Rugby Union attacked the League, and banned players in the hope that it could deter other defections.<sup>332</sup>

A scheme had been hatched following the return of the Kangaroos to Australia, for the Wallabies and Kangaroos to meet and play a series of games. James Joynton-Smith<sup>333</sup> was persuaded to finance a series of exhibition matches in August. The players were offered between £50 and £150 to take part. It cost the League somewhere in the vicinity of £1850 to lure the Wallabies to change codes. *The Bulletin* said: "few of the footballers earn more than two pounds per week, so they were guaranteed practically a year's salary each for a series of three matches. It is reducing football to private enterprise."<sup>334</sup> The Vice-President of the NSWRL resigned threatening legal action, and the President also resigned as a matter of principle, because all control was being taken away from the NSWRL and was being put in the hands of a private promoter.<sup>335</sup> Because all those involved would be proven international players, the contests attracted huge crowds in September, and this ensured some success for the League in Australia. It was mentioned that the series of games would be played with one game under Rugby Union rules, the other under Northern Union rules, and a toss up for the third. The first match was played on 4 September, presumably under Northern Union rules, as Heads quotes a newspaper report that "the Wallabies 'suffered from inexperience in the new game' ".<sup>336</sup> The Kangaroos won 23-20. The Wallabies won the next two games, 34-21 and 15-6 respectively. After these three matches, a fourth was scheduled because

it was found by the League committee that 130 pounds was short of the amount required to cover J.J Smith's outlay. . . . It was then decided to play another game between the two teams to clear off this deficit, and to give the Kangaroos, who had battled hard in the three games, a chance of getting a divvy.<sup>337</sup>

---

<sup>332</sup> Phillips, *Football, Class & War*, p 163

<sup>333</sup> (Sir) James Joynton Smith was the entrepreneur who had sold Epping Racecourse to the Rugby Union in 1907. He was knighted in 1920 for services to business and political life. (Heads, p 84.)

<sup>334</sup> Quoted in Heads, p.89.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid, p.84-5, 88; Cunneen, p 299-300.

<sup>336</sup> Heads, p.90.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid.

The Kangaroos won the final match 8-6, played on 18 September 1909. However, while the Wallabies were being paid for taking part in the matches, the Kangaroos were not paid a cent.

This luring of the Wallabies into playing the Northern Union game was a turning point for the code. One outcome was that many rugby players decided to switch codes, thus providing many new players for the 1910 season.<sup>338</sup> As the remaining cream of Rugby Union players were being captured by the League, there were flow-on financial consequences that saw the Rugby Union relinquish some of its grounds. Many of these were then taken over by the League. As more and more rugby union players joined league ranks, crowd support started to increase. Now the League had the better grounds, had most of the star Rugby Union players, and crowds found the game itself more entertaining. It also caused less serious injuries. Although the Rugby Union retaliated with rival attractions and still had the better organisational infrastructure, because its ranks of players had been decimated it did not manage to recover its former strength. In order to deter further defections to the new sport, the Rugby Union administrators adopted exclusionist practices, which would ban all players and officials who became involved with the new code. This did not produce the hoped for results, although rugby union continued to prosper in middle-class areas.<sup>339</sup> In working-class areas Rugby League continued to attract more crowds, and the style of game was also more appealing to many ex-rugby players.

In working-class suburbs club competition thrived, as it did in the coal town of Newcastle. Many of the Newtown players worked at either the Metters Stove Company or the St. Peters brickpits.<sup>340</sup> The class composition of rugby league players in Sydney could also be seen by the new code's strength in Labor Party areas and its links with the Labor Party, firstly through its first President, Harry Hoyle.<sup>341</sup> Another factor which later became

---

<sup>338</sup> Bennetts, p.28; Cunneen, p.299; Phillips, *Football, Class & War*, p.164.

<sup>339</sup> Cunneen, p.300-301; Murray Phillips, "Rugby" in Wray Vamplew & Brian Stoddart (eds), *Sport in Australia* (Cambridge, 1994), p.202; Phillips, *Football, Class & War*, p. 165.

<sup>340</sup> Chris Cunneen, "The Rugby War" in Cashman & McKernan, *Sport in History* (Queensland, 1979), p.297-8; Ian Heads, *True Blue* (Australia, 1992), p.55; Phillips, *Football, Class & War*, p.162, 165.

<sup>341</sup> Phillips, *Rugby*, p.200.



important was the Catholic influence. The majority of Catholics were of working-class origin, and League's first foothold in schools was when E.R. Larkin persuaded some Catholic schools to take up the game in 1913.<sup>342</sup> Country areas at first refused to join. Country clubs, like those in most of New Zealand, were a mixture of working-class, middle-class, and farmers, and so the push for change was not as strong as in the predominantly working-class areas of Sydney.

In New Zealand things were taking quite a different course. After the death of Baskiville, the remaining players organized a benefit match to be played in aid of Baskiville's widowed mother. This match was set down for 13 June 1908, to be played at Athletic Park, Wellington. But unlike the Australian Rugby Union, authorities in New Zealand refused to acknowledge Baskiville's passing. Nor were they at all sympathetic to the cause of a benefit match. Even the Wellington Rugby Union, in Baskiville's own area, could not see its way to help. Wright had written a letter asking if the Union would postpone its matches for that day and support the benefit to Mrs. Baskiville. But the Management Committee decided it could not postpone its games due to a shortage of playing days. However, it would try to rearrange fixtures and do anything else to help. The Wellington Football Association (Soccer) was supportive, and decided to postpone all its matches for the day, except for one which was used as the curtain raiser at the benefit match.<sup>343</sup>

The match drew 8000 spectators to this first display of Northern Union football in the country. The two teams were made up from members of the professional All Golds and some local players. The Black team comprised Paul, Tyne, Rowe, Claridge, Kelly, Wrigley, Isherwood, and in the forwards Trevarthen, Callum, Gilchrist, M'Whirter, Cross, and Wright (c). The Red Team consisted of Turtill (c), Barber, George, Pollock, W. Wynyard, Tyler, R. Wynyard, and the forwards Fraser, M'Grath, Pearce, Johnstone, Lile, and Mackrell. The Blacks won easily by 55 points to 20.<sup>344</sup> The game was declared a great success, with many

---

<sup>342</sup> Cunneen, p.297-8; Phillips, *Football, Class & War*, p 162, 165.

<sup>343</sup> See Appendix J for Editorial.

<sup>344</sup> *Dominion*: 15 June 1908, p.9, c.1. *Evening Post (EP)*: 15 June 1908, p.3, c.5.

players liking the new rules once they got over their initial confusion. These rules provided a much more 'common sense' approach to the game than the old rugby rules. Even the reporter for the *Evening Post* was moved to say:

it must be admitted that they [the All Golds] have returned with a game from which the New Zealand Rugby Union can borrow a few excellent rules. Some of the time-honoured traditions of the orthodox Rugby have outlived their day. Some of the quaint rules are a drag on the game. The Northern common-sense should not be ignored.<sup>345</sup>

The total proceeds of the day amounted to just over £300. Many thought this total would go to Mrs. Baskiville. But apparently she was to receive half only, with the Park Company receiving the other half as payment for use of the ground and facilities.

The situation in New Zealand after the benefit match was a rather confused one. There did not seem to be any plans or momentum for a large push to expand the Northern Union game in New Zealand. However, tiny pockets of interest sprang up around the country. The first major rumblings within New Zealand Rugby occurred in July 1908 at Invercargill, which can lay claim to having the first Rugby League teams in New Zealand. It happened following a dispute involving the Pirates and Britannia clubs, both of which refused to play a game owing to bad weather. Twenty-seven players were consequently suspended by the Invercargill Rugby Union.<sup>346</sup> So the players held a meeting and discussed the idea of playing the Northern game in order to keep fit. They unanimously decided to form a club, and their first game was played at Bluff on 15 July 1908.<sup>347</sup> A month later the Southland Rugby League had been established, with 150 joining, and a start was made on drawing up a set of by-laws. Travelling teams would be paid 7s 6d personal expenses per day, including board, etc.; 5/- would be paid for loss of wages in the Dominion, and 10/- a day outside; if injured, players would receive £2 up to 16 weeks – though a 6 month residential qualification was required. The membership fee was 2/-.<sup>348</sup>

---

<sup>345</sup> *EP*. 15 June 1908, p 3, c 5.

<sup>346</sup> They were not formally banned until early 1909

<sup>347</sup> Lynn McConnell, *Something to Crow About* (Invercargill, 1986), p 26, 280. For the full story see McConnell, p. 26 & pp.278-82.

<sup>348</sup> *EP*. 20 August 1908, p.7, c.4

Don Hamilton, one of the players affected, declared in an interview in May 1911 that the players had not been banned "for playing under Northern Union rules, but for playing rugby with less than 15 men"! "The reason we turned to Northern Union rules . . . was because . . . it was the only game open to us". "We wanted to keep on playing".<sup>349</sup> Hughes and Hamilton had both asked that their suspensions be lifted because they had not received any money for playing the game. At the 1911 AGM they again petitioned the New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU) asking for reinstatement, but it was not until 1920 that the matter was finally resolved, when the NZRU lifted all disqualifications and suspensions placed on players before 1919.<sup>350</sup>

The first provincial game of Rugby League in New Zealand was played between teams from Wellington and Auckland on 24 August 1908 at Victoria Park, Auckland. These teams were made up from members of the All Golds along with other recent converts. A good attendance of around 7000 people turned up to see Auckland defeat Wellington by 16 points to 14, in what was described as a fast and exciting game.<sup>351</sup> The report on the game in the conservative *New Zealand Herald* stated:

Many innovations are introduced into the Northern Union game, which could be very well copied by the New Zealand Rugby Union. It does not necessarily imply that because a game is played by professionals there is no good in it. . . . The main feature about the game is the endeavour to eliminate anything approaching roughness, which is a most admirable feature.<sup>352</sup>

Supporters of the game were busy developing rules to be put in place for the coming year, organizing players into teams, and arranging games between themselves. Teams were being formed in areas such as Auckland, Taranaki–New Plymouth, Wairarapa, Wellington, South Canterbury, Dunedin, and Invercargill. But there were no club competitions at that stage. Although individual players were coming over to the new game, whole rugby clubs with their associated infrastructures were not involved. This was quite different from what

---

<sup>349</sup> McConnell, p 281

<sup>350</sup> Ibid, p.282.

<sup>351</sup> *WG&NZM*: 26 August 1908, p.12, c 2

<sup>352</sup> *NZH*. 24 August 1908, p.8, c 4.



**Plate 15**

NEW GAME OF FOOTBALL, AUCKLAND V WELLINGTON, UNDER NORTHERN UNION RULES AT VICTORIA PARK, AUCKLAND:  
A SMART PASSING RUN BY THE HOME TEAM.

Source: Auckland Weekly News: 27 August 1908, p.10.  
Hocken Library. (°/u E 6486/29).

had occurred in Sydney. Even in Invercargill, not all members of the Pirates and Britannia clubs joined. It was still only individual players, while the 'clubs' themselves remained in the Rugby Union competition. Instrumental in getting the game up and running in various centres around the country were the returned members of the All Golds. They were still playing the game on an amateur basis, but were receiving out-of-pocket expenses from the clubs they helped. League players in New Zealand were not professionals in any real sense because they did not play for pay. But the public branded them as professionals regardless. (True professionalism in New Zealand Rugby League is a relatively recent thing.) Profits made during this time were put into funds to help establish clubs for the next year. It is interesting to note that following some of the games, reporters took swipes at the Rugby Union code, saying that there was room for improvement and that the new code encompassed things that the Rugby Union could borrow in an attempt to improve the Rugby game.

A meeting of interested footballers was held in Dunedin at the beginning of September 1908 to begin the process of starting the Northern Union game there. About 80 were present, and it was unanimously decided to form a Northern Union League and introduce the game to be played on a purely amateur basis. Mr. J.L. Corson outlined the situation in Invercargill. He said that accusations of professionalism had been made against them because of their paying expenses, but he asked "why players receiving five shillings should be disqualified by a Rugby Union which paid its own players three shillings per day".<sup>353</sup> Fred Given, a former Otago and New Zealand player, supported the formation of a League because the NZRU "treated its members worse than any other body. It was time they had a change, and both players and public would benefit by it".<sup>354</sup> A month later the first provincial match in the South Island was played between teams representing Otago and Southland. The first match on 3 October saw Otago the victors by 11 points to 8. The return match a week later, Southland won by 30 points to 14.<sup>355</sup> In Petone a meeting was held on 16

---

<sup>353</sup> John Coffey, "Rugby Revolt in the Deep South", in Bernard Wood (ed), *Lion Red Rugby League Annual (LRRLA)*, 1990, p.75.

<sup>354</sup> *NZH*, 3 September 1908, p 5, c.1

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid*, 5 October 1908, p.7, c.7; 9 October 1908, p 8, c.7.

September to discuss the best means of establishing Northern Union football on an amateur basis. "Bumper" Wright, who presided over the meeting, said the reason for setting up the game "was that the rugby union did not treat the players as well as they ought to do. The desire for improvement of the game was the strongest reason for breaking away."<sup>356</sup> At this meeting views were put forward for staying with the Rugby Union until it could be seen what was going to happen, as there was a feeling throughout the whole Dominion that the rules of Rugby had to be altered. Mr Lynskey counselled the organizers to "wait and see what improvements the New Zealand union decided upon before launching out on their own."<sup>357</sup> But it was eventually unanimously carried that they establish the Northern Union game in Wellington regardless.

Around the same time, Rugby Unions were grappling with both the 'professional problem' and the push for alterations to the rules of the game. Big issues for the Unions during the years 1907-08 were: the payment of players for loss of wages; whether this action made a player a professional; and what really did constitute professionalism. Wellington and Otago were at the forefront of reform calls. So hot was the debate and its reverberations that the *Athletic News* commented in 1907:

The discussion of these questions [player payments; rule alterations to make the game faster; professionalism in sport] reads decidedly familiar, and carries us back a decade to the time when the iniquity of payment for broken time, and the desirability of keeping the game exactly as "handed down to us by our ancestors" was such a favourite theme of discussion amongst the advocates for pure amateurism in England, and the result will probably be a case of history repeating itself.<sup>358</sup>

Paying players for loss of working time was quietly gaining favour. Some enlightened souls felt that payment for loss of wages was not akin to out and out professionalism, and therefore, should incur no loss of amateur status. Player payment was also being debated by the local unions, especially during the time leading up to the NZRU AGM in May 1908. Also, the 'improvements' that the Northern Union had come up with were considered to be

---

<sup>356</sup> *EP*: 17 September 1908, p 2, c 8

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>358</sup> *AN*: 14 October 1907.

ideas that Rugby could use and adapt to improve their own game, in an effort to make it faster and more popular with spectators. *The Dominion* report following the Benefit match said, "If the New Zealand Rugby Union made drastic alterations to the rules at present in force the new game would prove superfluous."<sup>359</sup> But there were still those who were staunchly 'amateur', believers in the 'old school', who saw no reason to go tampering with the rules of 'good old rugby'. Unfortunately many of those men held high positions within rugby unions, and could exercise their positions of power.

The NZRU was strongly opposed to professionalism at any cost. While calls for reform were heard, they were ignored by the national body. *The Star* issued the NZRU with some good advice and a warning:

I think the English Rugby Union has a golden opportunity at this present juncture to set to work and alter the rules with a view to improvement of the game. I am afraid if that conservative body does not realise the position and do something, there will be a serious split in the followers of the Rugby code, especially in New Zealand and Australia. . . . The game as played at present is a good game, but it is capable of improvement, and those in authority should realize or be made to realize, the fact.<sup>360</sup>

Harry McIntyre drafted a series of proposed amendments to the Rules as to Professionalism,<sup>361</sup> to be discussed at a special meeting of the Wellington Rugby Union, with recommendations to be forwarded to the NZRU for the coming AGM. The Otago Union also forwarded notices of motion, including a proposal that "the rules of the Union be revised with a view to their improvement, and that the suggestions be forwarded to the English Union."<sup>362</sup>

At the AGM on 14 May 1908, the laws of professionalism and travelling expenses were debated before the actual business of the annual meeting. Many members regarded paying players for loss of time or any other reason as condoning professionalism. McIntyre's resolutions and the Otago motion were also debated. However, when it came to amending the

---

<sup>359</sup> *Dominion*: 15 June 1908, p.9, c.2.

<sup>360</sup> *The Star*: 15 April 1908, p. 4, c 3-4.

<sup>361</sup> See *Dominion*: 2 April 1908, p.9, 5-6.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid*, 3 April 1908, p.9, c 6

laws very few improvements were actually made. Nearly every proposal was rejected. The NZRU was not willing to breakaway from the 'Mother Country' because it would risk having no one to play against, much like the situation the Northern Union found itself in before the advent of New Zealand and Australian interest in their game. Being excluded by the English Rugby Union was a very real fear.

Obviously the NZRU 'improvements' did not go far enough for many. Rugby rules of the time allowed the use of the wing forward. More emphasis was placed on points kicked rather than on tries (3 pts tries, 3pts penalties, 2pts conversions, 4pts dropped goals), and prolonged rucks and mauls which slowed down the game, were prominent. By contrast, Northern Union rules created a faster and more open game, as well as, according to its proponents, being less risky to the body. A meeting of Canterbury footballers was held at the end of July, with a view to adopting the Northern Union code. Talk, however, centred around proposals to alter the playing laws of rugby. The NZRU, it was believed, "had shown itself unsympathetic and autocratic", <sup>363</sup> and the meeting urged the views of the club to be "brought prominently before the Union at an early date, with a view to further action." <sup>364</sup>

A special meeting of the NZRU was requested by the Otago, Southland, and Canterbury Unions to discuss the proposed alterations in the laws of the game. An article in *The Star* pointed out:

It appears that there is a crisis impending in New Zealand football, and any action will have to be carefully and firmly taken after due consideration has been given to the various points brought forward. It is to be hoped that those in authority will not make the same blunder as did the English Rugby Union in 1894. <sup>365</sup>

As previously stated, the debate over paying players for loss of time was, one of the main factors that caused the Northern clubs to break away from the English Rugby Union (ERU) in 1895 to form the Northern Rugby Football Union. At the special meeting of the NZRU on 9

---

<sup>363</sup> says 'Dropkick' in *The Press*, quoted in *WG&NZM* 12 August 1908, p 11, c.2.

<sup>364</sup> *NZH*: 27 July 1908, p.4, c.2.

<sup>365</sup> *The Star*. 29 August 1908, p 4, c 3-4



October 1908, Mr J. Hutchinson (Otago) moved: "That in the opinion of this union the time has arrived when it is imperatively necessary that the laws of Rugby football shall be amended." <sup>366</sup> The motion was amended when Mr. G. Dixon said it was his opinion that "an amendment to the rules was [not] 'imperatively necessary' ", and he moved that the motion should read "That the time has arrived when it is *advisable* the rules should be altered." <sup>367</sup> A long discussion then ensued about paying players for time lost. In the end the motion was lost. Final amendments that were agreed upon were : (1) That the referee should place the ball in the scrum; (2) That a player brought to the ground should be allowed to pass the ball if he did so immediately; (3) That the game should be played in four twenty-minute spells, with an interval at half-time. It was also decided to invite the co-operation of the New South Wales and Queensland Unions and to appoint three delegates to confer over the new rules. <sup>368</sup> It was hoped that these few minor changes to the rules would accommodate those who kept pushing for more radical reform.

Even the ERU became involved. It was concerned enough to send over a team as a missionary exercise, in an attempt to counter the professional element in New Zealand Rugby. George Harnett, manager of the Anglo-Welsh team stated: "The situation of amateurism in New Zealand and Australia made it imperative that a team should go to support the New Zealand authorities. . . . It was a sporting mission in the great fight for the preservation of amateur Rugby in the Colonies." <sup>369</sup> The Anglo-Welsh team duly arrived in 1908, minus any players from Scotland and Ireland. Scotland and Ireland refused to allow their players to play in a tour which they saw as helping the professional cause. <sup>370</sup> This tour

---

<sup>366</sup> Ibid, 9 October 1908, p.1, c.3.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid (Italics my own)

<sup>368</sup> Ibid, 9 October 1908, p.3, c.2.

<sup>369</sup> *WG&NZM*: 6 May 1908, p.13, c 1

<sup>370</sup> The Scottish Union believed the NZRU was at fault and was encouraging professionalism, by paying its players a 'daily payment' while on tour. They argued that the paying of the 1905 All Blacks 3/- a day constituted professionalism – a case they continued to argue for the next three years. In its eyes, the All Blacks were 'veiled professionals'. Obviously hazy lines between what actually constituted professionalism existed, with differing matters of interpretation. The allowance of 3/- a day for touring expenses that the NZRU considered amateur, was considered by the Scots Union to be professional. They also absolutely refused to have anything to do with touring teams if profits were to be made. The Scots were still miffed over the financial success of the 1905 All Black tour and the fact they still had not received the accounts from it. At the 1909 International Rugby

was supposed to show all that was fine and true about amateur rugby. The High Commissioner for New Zealand, Mr. W. P. Reeves, speaking at the send-off for the team, reiterated:

This tour was an effort to uphold amateur football, to assert the amateur spirit, and stamp out the professional spirit. It was a great mistake to suppose that the New Zealand public had taken a turn towards professionalism. Their idea was still sport for sport's sake, and the visit of this team would do not a little to back up the union there.<sup>371</sup>

However, from a playing point of view, the tour was a disaster. The team lost most of its matches which did not help the cause, and it was an embarrassment for the Rugby Union. An editorial in the *Evening Post*, 23 May 1908, under the heading "Ideals of Sport", focused upon the differences between the English Amateur Ethos and the outlook of the New Zealand team:

The British – or to be perfectly precise, the Anglo-Welsh – footballers have been with us for nearly a week, . . . the events of those five days suggest the different ideals of sport of the two countries. It is a trite saying that the English take their pleasure seriously. It is equally true, so far as the saying goes, that they take their sport seriously too. . . . Yet it must be admitted that we take our sport far more seriously. In the first place, footballers go into regular training at the commencement of the season and continue until the end. We have our gymnasiums, where young men practise footballing movements until they are as expert as a piece of fine machinery. They think of the game and practise the game during the week to play it at the week-end. There is nothing but football to the footballer during the football season. He lives for the game; he is prepared to undergo any amount of self-sacrifice and self-denial to ensure the success of his team. He becomes as skilful as a professional. Between him and the professional there lies but the matter of payment. . . . With our young men it is for the achievement of the maximum efficiency in their favourite game. They have made study of football, and have reduced it to a science. It is not so with our players from the Motherland. To them football is a game and nothing more. As a fine game it gained their support, as a be-all and end-all it would not merit their consideration. This explains the carelessness of Englishmen about training, be the branch of sport what it may. . . . [T]he Englishman will take all risks and no trouble. He runs for the pleasure of running. That is his main purpose, and not to win. . . . Hence the secret preparations of the All Black team at Newton Abbot and the happy-go-lucky style of many of their opponents. The ultimate fate of the exponents of the respective methods is perfectly foreshadowed. Applied knowledge wins every time. But the Englishmen have an argument. 'Sport,'

---

Board, the Scottish Union succeeded in making the board resolve "That the making of any allowance to players in cash in the opinion of this committee is contrary to the principles of amateur rugby football and in future no such allowance be made to any player." (Ron Palenski, *Our National Game* (Auckland 1992), p. 36)

<sup>371</sup> *WG&NZM*: 13 May 1908, p. 12, c.2.

they say, 'is not like other things. It is the antithesis of everyday life; it is a recreation, not a business, and once you introduce the scientific method, away goes the true atmosphere of sport. Football is all we have left of the ancient chivalry. Do not let us degrade it by making it a mere system'. . . .

[Y]et we say, 'If you are going to play the game, play the game. Make a good job of it. Put into your . . . sport . . . all that you know. Play it with professional skill, if without professional emolument. That is the spirit of New Zealand in sport, and we think that if English amateurs had shown a similar spirit there would have been less of professional football in the Old Country that there is now'.<sup>372</sup>

As the season ended for 1908, some progress had been made by those who were eager to get the Northern Union code established in New Zealand. In a letter to the president of the Northern Union, Mr. D.G. Fraser, the man who took over after Baskiville's death, wrote:

I have been very busy since our return home arranging matches and clubs. Needless to say, our first big game at Auckland did a lot of good, and the following Monday the Auckland Rugby League met and decided that if the New Zealand Rugby Union did not alter their rules at once they would (as Otago and Canterbury have already done) sever their connection with that body.

There is no doubt that a great future lies before the Northern Union game in New Zealand, if played on an amateur basis. We are forming clubs all over the Dominion, and our intention is to pay players out of pocket expenses only. We will have a better insurance scheme than the Rugby Union have at present, and hope to pay players as near to their wages as possible. At present they are paid 20s a week, and might have to wait two or three months before they get paid the first week.

I have been promised assistance from great supporters of the amateur game, and at present everything points to us having a very successful season next year. In Southland matches are played every week. Dunedin, Christchurch, South Canterbury, Kaiapoi, Wellington, Otaki, Petone, Palmerston North, Taranaki, Wanganui, Invercargill, Gisborne, and Auckland all have teams, and at the end of the month I am taking a team on tour down South. . . .<sup>373</sup>

1909 heralded even more changes for both codes. At a general meeting of delegates to the Rugby Union on 18 March, any reforms that had been made at the meeting the previous October were effectively squashed.<sup>374</sup> In spite of this, progress for the League continued to be slow. In May, Mr. Charles H. Ford (a NSWRL Vice-President) arrived from Sydney to

---

<sup>372</sup> *EP*: 23 May 1908, p.4, c.6-7.

<sup>373</sup> *AN*: 19 October 1908.

<sup>374</sup> See Geoff Vincent, "Repression and Reform", *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 31 No.2. (October 1997) pp. 234-250, esp. p.248-9

arrange tours to Australia by a Maori and a New Zealand team. The New Zealand team duly left the country at the end of May, and played a series of matches throughout June and early July. Of the All Golds, only Barber,<sup>375</sup> Byrne, Gilchrist, Lile, Pearce, Rowe and Trevarthen were included in the New Zealand team. Mr. D.G. Fraser was the manager and secretary for the team which was captained by J. Barber.<sup>376</sup> Matches were arranged against New South Wales, Queensland, Newcastle, a Metropolitan team, and of course three Tests against an Australian team. The first Test, played on 12 June 1909, was won by New Zealand 19 points to 11; Australia won the remaining two matches, 10-5 and 25-5. The Maori team toured during July. While they had more success than their 1908 predecessors, they too ran into problems, with the captain and eight other players being arrested because of an outstanding debt from the previous tour! The highlights of the 10 match Maori tour were two wins against New South Wales, and one against Australia.<sup>377</sup>

Finally a controlling body for the Northern Union game in New Zealand was established. On 19 July 1909, "150 enthusiastic footballers and other well wishers"<sup>378</sup> met at the Auckland Chamber of Commerce boardroom to form the new organization. Mr. R. Eagleton, a supporter, offered the free use of a ground at Epsom. In the English Northern Union minutes for 14 September 1909, there is reference to a letter stating "That the New Zealand Rugby League be formed, affiliating with and adopting the Rules of the Northern Union Rugby League." It was requested that "the League be recognized as the ruling body for the whole of New Zealand, and that Leagues forming in other centres throughout the Dominion affiliate to them the ruling body." The reply from the Northern Union Members was favourable to the idea of an NZRL being formed. However they suggested that "it would not be to their interest or the interest of the game to give other provinces the idea that Auckland would take over the entire management of the game in New Zealand, but that the

---

<sup>375</sup> Barber was not included in the original touring team, but joined them for the 1908 Australian leg of the tour.

<sup>376</sup> *The Star* 26 May 1909, p.1, c.5; Bennetts, p.31

<sup>377</sup> Ibid; Heads, p.95; Whiticker & Collis, pp.17, 21-22; Wood, *LRRLA* 1996, p.116.

<sup>378</sup> Bennetts, p.29

representation of such should be on a broad basis, giving each province an equitable representation." <sup>379</sup>

News of an English tour to New Zealand in 1910 became the catalyst needed to get this National body established for New Zealand League. The first general meeting of the New Zealand Provincial Rugby League was held in Auckland on 25 April 1910. On 17 May 1910 the English team duly arrived in Australia for the first Northern Union return tour, and played a series of matches against the Australians. It also played a combined Australasian team. *The Star* reported that "Asher, the New Zealand representative played a fine game." <sup>380</sup> Asher was a member of the New Zealand Maori Rugby League team that was touring Australia during July. This report classes him as "the" representative, which sounds as though he may have been the only New Zealand player in this team that was classed as "Australasian". Back in New Zealand on 6 June, the fourth meeting of the New Zealand Provincial Rugby League was held and it was noted that Auckland, Taranaki and Nelson had paid affiliation fees. By mid-July the Southland affiliation was confirmed. <sup>381</sup> Mid-July was when the English team arrived in Auckland to play a few matches. While in New Zealand the English played against the Maori team, Auckland, and a Rotorua team – all games that they won. On 31 July they won the test match against New Zealand by 52 points to 20. It was just two years since the All Golds had played in England. The fact that New Zealand was beaten so comprehensively by the English, was perhaps a reflection upon the state of the game here. The New Zealand side certainly was not as strong as the All Golds had been, and the defeat shows up this lack of depth.

By 1911 the Hawkes Bay Rugby League was established, while provisional representation was given to Wellington. This was formally constituted in July 1912, as was Canterbury. In June 1915, the Canterbury League undertook a whirlwind missionary exercise

---

<sup>379</sup> Northern Union minutes, 14 September 1909.

<sup>380</sup> *The Star*: 14 July 1910, p.1, c.2.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid*, p.35



**Plate 16**

SKETCH OF THE NORTHERN UNION CUP.

Centre Panel Inscription: 'Presented by the Northern Rugby Football Union to the New Zealand Rugby League for annual competition.'

Source: *Weekly Graphic & New Zealand Mail*: 25 May 1910, p.9, c.2.

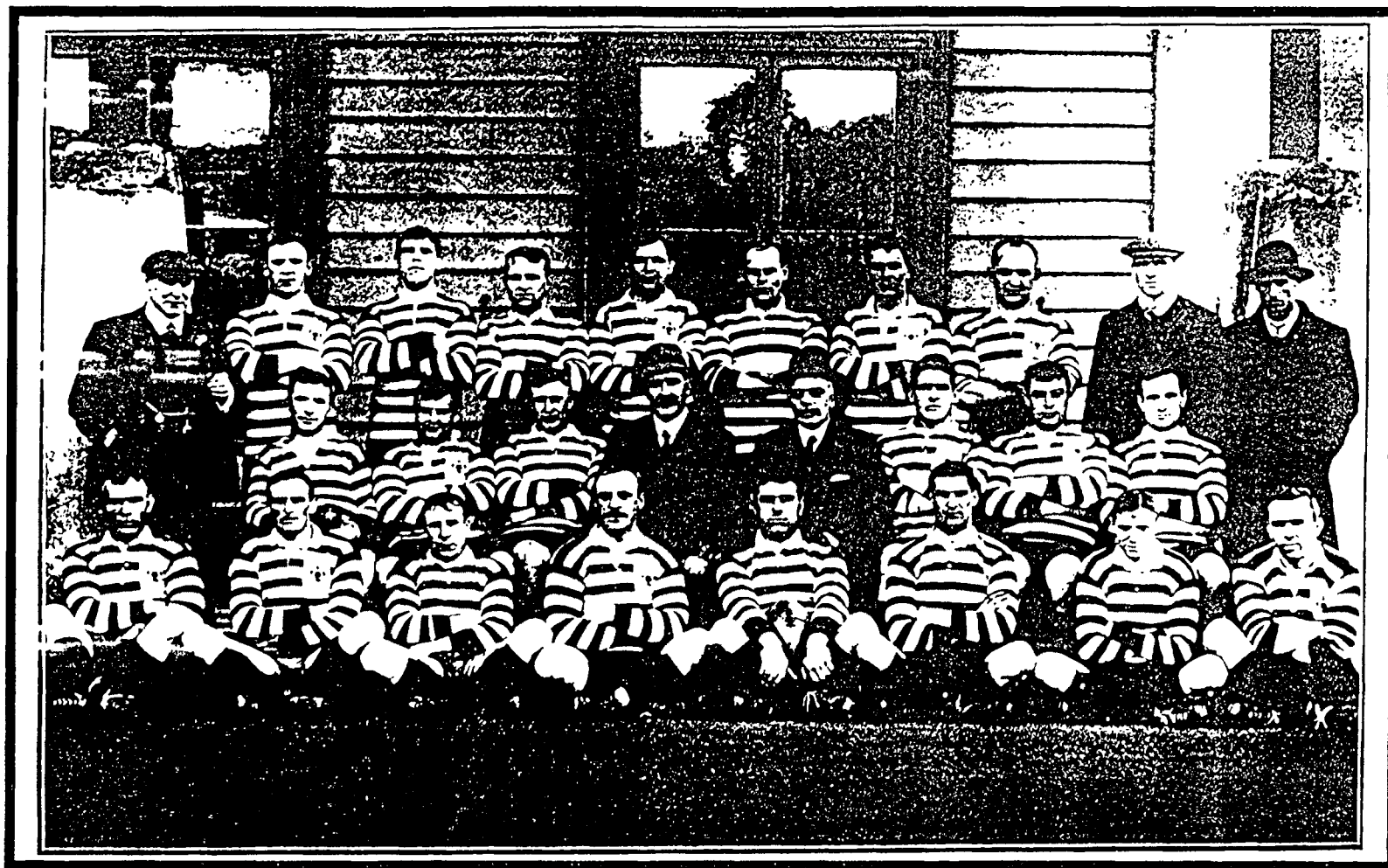


Plate 17

ENGLISH NORTHERN UNION FOOTBALLERS, WHO DEFEATED AUCKLAND ON SATURDAY.

Source: *Weekly Graphic & New Zealand Mail*: 27 July 1910, p.26.

to the West Coast, and within their three-day stay the West Coast Rugby League was formed.<sup>382</sup>

The development of Rugby League in Australia and New Zealand took very different courses. In Australia, while the All Golds were touring England, clubs were being formed, a constitution was drafted, and players started learning the game in preparation for the beginning of the new league season. Eight district clubs were formed in working-class areas, with seven of them being Sydney based. By April 1908, just before the All Golds were due to play their first match on their return journey, the Australian club competition started. Because whole Rugby Union clubs had changed over, complete with administrators and club structure, once the new rules were learned, competition could begin. Thus it took only eight months for the League to get established in Australia.

After the 1908 Kangaroo tour, a series of four matches was played in 1909 between the Kangaroos and the Wallabies. Large numbers of people had turned out to watch because both teams contained the best rugby players in Australia. Following this series the Wallabies 'went over' en masse, which helped the cause and secured the games' immediate future. The result of this coup saw the Rugby League expand at the expense of the Rugby Union.

Baskiville's sudden death on 20 May 1908 had a shattering effect on the All Golds. The team never returned home as 'the successful All Golds team' because some members were in England, some had returned with Baskiville's body and the rest returned once the Australian commitments were completed. The first exposure the people of New Zealand had to the Northern Union game was at Baskiville's benefit match in Wellington. Following that progress was intermittent. There were no organized groups pushing to start the new game. Instead little pockets of interest developed around the country. In July, the first rugby league teams formed in Invercargill because a dispute banned players from playing rugby union, not

---

<sup>382</sup> Bennetts, pp.103, 119, 121, 127, 143, W.J. Davidson, *Rugby League 1908-1947*, p 45.



because they wanted to change to rugby league. Notably, it only involved the particular players, not the club officials.

Members of the All Golds helped to establish rugby league around the country. As individual players joined up teams developed. It was clear that those 'going over' to league were players, not whole clubs as had been the case in Australia. The result was that the game existed at inter-provincial and national level, but there was nothing at club level. Local competitions did not exist because there were not enough players within the various districts at this time. Even though the geographical spread of interest in the Northern Union game was wide, progress was slow because all the infrastructure still had to be established, and it was much harder and took longer to get the base underway. It was 1909-10 before the Auckland and New Zealand Rugby Leagues were established, and even then, it took the English touring team to provide the spur to create the national body.

Owing to the very large urban base of Sydney, the game of Rugby League being a working-class game, got off the ground faster and more solidly in Australia. New Zealand had a very strong Rugby Union background and less developed working-class areas. Whereas conditions in Australia moved fast and took on a life of their own, without the need of their original founders, the beginnings of the game in New Zealand followed on from an entrepreneurial tour, and not from any specific desire to establish the game of rugby league. Baskiville can be considered the founding father of Rugby League in both Australia and New Zealand. But his early death probably had less to do with the subsequent slow pace of Rugby League's development in New Zealand than was first thought.

## CONCLUSION.

The All Golds received little recognition from New Zealand on their return home. Yet their tour had been quite successful in many ways. Ironically, it was to prove of more benefit to both England and Australia than it was to New Zealand.

While the All Golds did not win all their matches, they did manage to win over half. But considering their initial handicap, they did surprisingly well. Most of the team had not seen a Northern Union game until a few days before their first match in England. Having to learn the rules as they played, as well as having to cope with the harsh weather conditions in the North of England made quite an impact. A heavy schedule had been organised, and that along with injury and illness, took its toll on the players. Having to play the 'rep' games at the end of a very gruelling tour did not help. In spite of all this, they managed to win the Test series 2-1. Financially they made a profit, with enough to cover their expenses, and the extra providing reimbursement for their original contributions and some spare as well. The success of the tour can also be measured by the impact it had elsewhere.

Baskiville's tour gave the Northern Union a real and much needed boost. The resulting publicity generated by the tour, strengthened the game considerably. It also ended the Northern Union's isolation. Now having the drawcard of international tours, would mean the Northern Union could compete on a more equal footing with soccer and rugby union. These long-term benefits came as a result of Baskiville's tour.

Baskiville's tour was the major catalyst in Australia that triggered off a change over to the Northern Union game. The visit provoked a large club-based revolt within the rugby ranks in Sydney, and resulted in the formation of the New South Wales Rugby League (NSWRL). But why did an entrepreneurial tour from a group of New Zealand Rugby players cause these changes?

Northern Union rugby was the 'professional' game and had its origins in the well known split in 1895, when 20 clubs broke from the English Rugby Union (ERU), formed the Northern Rugby Football Union, and paid their players 'broken-time' payments. The reasons for that split are tied up with the different attitudes within society that existed in the North of England, compared with those in the South. The ERU attitudes to working-class players and their needs alienated both officials and players in the North. Southern middle-class men failed to understand the working-class need for compensation for lost working time. Because of the ERU's inability to relax its adherence to a rigid amateur ethos, and its insistence on strict legislation concerning professionalism, those in the North resulted in doing something about it. This led to the split.

In Sydney, just as in England, the actions of the Rugby Union were a major factor that lead to discontent. It alienated many players and officials by its actions and attitudes. The Rugby Union's shift of venues, by taking local teams away from their home grounds to places where the Rugby Union could get more gate money, annoyed many. Also the way the Rugby Union amassed money and did not spent it on the clubs was a source of friction. The purchase of Epping racecourse was possibly the last straw. These actions and the greed of the Union, were seen by many as the main reasons why players were so ready to change codes and play a game where the emphasis was placed on the player. The new game allowed remuneration for time lost and compensation for injuries, among other things. Officials too were keen, as this would be one way to regain more control over their local clubs and venues. The Sydney residential pattern was similar to that of the North of England, in that there were large working-class areas with working-class rugby clubs catering for working-class players. The need for some form of remuneration to cover lost wages was obvious in these areas. The player push for change and support, along with the support of club officials, were the instrumental factors in the advent of Rugby League in Sydney.

In New Zealand there was a total contrast. With its lack of large urban areas and their large numbers of working-class people to push for a working-class game, the impetus for change to a new rugby game was lacking. As well as this New Zealand's class distinction was

much looser in character than of either England or Australia . Due to the nature of this society, most rugby clubs had very mixed class membership, quite unlike those in the predominantly working-class areas found in Sydney and the North of England. The New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU) was very strong throughout the whole of New Zealand, and it already catered to a wide mix of people, both middle class and working class. It was well integrated into society, in communities both large and small. The game of rugby had also developed a uniquely New Zealand style, which suited those who played it. Basically it had departed from the 'pure' English amateur ethos, though it still retained some of those ideals. This was why the amateur/professional tactic used by the NZRU worked so much better in New Zealand than it did elsewhere. Nor was there evidence of any major player or official resentment about the Rugby Union. What dissatisfactions there were occurred on a more individual level. Even the Invercargill situation was an isolated one-off incident. There had been no previous ongoing resentment. When league did slowly get started in New Zealand, it did so as an individual choice. Players moved over on an individual basis,- not whole clubs as had been the case in Australia. The result of this was the emergence of a rather unique provincial competition, but not a local club competition. Clubs did not exist. It was almost three years after the All Golds tour before any actual Leagues were formed. These provided some semblance of club competition, although even then, it was only Auckland which had any areas of predominantly working-class players.

Baskiville's 'private venture' was just that. There was no immediate thought of forming leagues, as in Australia, to begin widespread competitions in competition with the Rugby Union. Nor did they see themselves as professionals. Their touring allowance was 1/- less than the 1905 All Blacks had received. Obviously they considered that what they were doing would in no way violate any rugby laws in New Zealand. The All Golds were the first New Zealand Rugby League team to tour Britain, and were the first international Rugby League team to tour from anywhere in the world. Baskiville's legacy has been the advent of Rugby League in Australasia.

## APPENDIX A.

### Baskiville and the Northern Union.

1. Letter to the Northern Union by Albert Baskiville requesting a guarantee for the visit of a New Zealand team:<sup>383</sup>

You must admit . . . that if a team were to visit and play you, and be capable of repeating the performance put up by the original 'All Blacks' intense excitement would be aroused in Northern Union circles. Your game would have a revival, as the amateur game did. Its supporters would then have the opportunity of witnessing a series of contests which they wanted the 1905 New Zealand team to take part in, but which was denied them. Of course, the uniform of our team will be all black, and they will naturally be called 'All Blacks', so that they will reap the benefits of the cheap advertisement that their predecessors gave.

The letter then, I am informed, goes on to say that a representative team would go to Australia, and that the players in view would be sounded as to taking the tour Home. 'The team will include', proceeds the letter, 'men whom you have already seen playing if you witnessed some of the 'All Blacks' British games in 1905; others who would have been in the 1905 team but for the fact that they were not of the 'stand-up collar' variety of player, and some who have since made their reputations. Taken all round, the team that we have in view will in some respects be a better combination than the original 'All Blacks' at your game. . . . If we meet with marked success next season and manage to have something in hand after paying expenses and dividends it will be devoted to bringing teams to England in after years. Again, our players will be the cream of New Zealand footballers: some of them may desire to remain in England and play in your ranks.

It is possible that our team will lead to a team representative of Northern Union clubs coming out with us in their off season and playing a series of return matches in New Zealand and Australia. I can guarantee that if they did they would have the tour of their lives and at the same time pay their way. The gate when the New Zealand and British teams met here in 1904 was about £3000, and if we played exhibition matches in Australia it is probable that an attendance of 40,000 could be drawn. The audacity of the scheme and the way it would be talked of – it would be the talk of the colonies for the time being – would prove an immense draw, and there would be absolutely no necessity to advertise the games locally.

---

<sup>383</sup>

Source: *New Zealand Herald*: 1 May 1907, p 8, c 7 (London, 22 March 1907.)

2. Circular from the Northern Union Committee to the clubs to ascertain opinions on a tour by the New Zealanders:<sup>384</sup>

The committee have had this matter under consideration, and they are very favourably disposed to the visit providing – (1) They receive satisfactory assurance as to strength of team; (2) Sufficient support in guarantees from clubs in membership with our union. The committee suggest that the New Zealand team be paid 70 per cent of the gross gate, with a guarantee from the union that their share for the tour be not less than £3000. To meet this guarantee it is suggested that each club or combination having a match with the New Zealand team shall guarantee the New Zealand share of gate to be: (a) For a Saturday or holiday match, £100; (b) for a mid-week match, £50. The amounts guaranteed to be deposited in the bank to the credit of 'New Zealand Guarantee Fund' not later than 1st June next. It is estimated that the guarantees from clubs will amount to between £2000 and £2500, and the Union Committee will be prepared to make up balance of guarantee. As there is only a short time to make the necessary arrangements for the visit, clubs and combinations desirous of having matches upon the terms suggested should notify me of such desire as early as possibly.

---

<sup>384</sup> Source: *Evening Post*: 18 May 1907, p.5, c.9.

## APPENDIX B.

### NZRU's Response to Rumours of Tour.

#### 1. Letter to Unions from the Secretary of the NZRU, re need for Declaration: <sup>385</sup>

In view of the reported movement to send a team of professionals to play against the Northern Counties Union of England, this union considers it desirable that no player who has entered into negotiations to become one of any such team would be selected for the inter-island match. This is particularly desirable, as no doubt if any of those who do go Home with the professional team were selected as inter-island or New Zealand representatives, the fact of their having been selected would be used as an advertisement for the professional team. Moreover, a player who has entered into negotiations with a view to joining the professional team has committed a breach of the rules as to 'professionalism,' and is not eligible to play under the ban of this union. It has therefore been decided to ask every player nominated to make a statutory declaration to the effect that he has not made a breach of the rules as to professionalism. I enclose forms for each nominee from your union, and would ask you to at once get each of them to make the declaration before a Justice of the Peace, and to report the result to me, so that I may receive it if possible by 8 p.m. on Friday, but in any case not later than noon on Saturday next. No player can be selected either for the inter-island match or the Australian tour unless he makes the declaration. It may be desirable to point out to players that the declaration states no more than what in previous years has been taken for granted, i.e., that they have made no breach of the rules as to professionalism, and the exceptional circumstances render it necessary on this occasion that proof should be given; and, further, each player should be warned of the seriousness of making the declaration if it is contrary to fact.

---

<sup>385</sup> Source: *Evening Post* 23 May 1907, p 2, c 4

## 2. NZRU Declaration: <sup>386</sup>

I, \_\_\_\_\_, of \_\_\_\_\_, do solemnly and sincerely declare as follows: (1) That I have never asked, received, or relied on a promise, direct or implied, to receive any money consideration whatever, actual or prospective, for playing football or rendering any service to a football organization; (2) and particularly that I have not asked, received, or relied on any promise, direct or implied, to receive any money consideration whatever, actual or prospective, or to receive any benefit from, nor have I promised or asked to be permitted to take part in any manner whatsoever in a scheme having for its object the sending of a team to Rugby footballers from New Zealand to play football against the teams of the Northern Counties' Rugby Union of England. I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, under and by virtue of the provision so the Justices of the Peace Act, 1882. Declared at \_\_\_\_\_, the \_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 1907, before me, \_\_\_\_\_, a justice of the Peace for the Colony of New Zealand.

It was also resolved that each player selected for the North v. South Island match shall be required to give the following undertaking:

I, \_\_\_\_\_, in consideration of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union having selected me to be one of its representatives to take part in the match, North Island versus South Island, on June 3, 1907, I do hereby promise and agree with the said union: (1) That I will not form one of the projected team of footballers which is to leave New Zealand to play against the northern counties of England; (2) that I will not enter into any negotiation with any person with a view to my becoming a member of any such team; (3) that I will not actively or passively be a party to, or assist in any way the promotion of any such team; (4) that if I am approached by any person or persons with a request that I should become a member of any such team, I shall at once notify the said union of the fact, and advise the said union of the name of any persons or persons so approaching me; (5) that I will, to the best of my ability, assist the said union in its desire to put down any attempt to induce any footballer in New Zealand to make a breach of the rule as to professionalism as adopted by the Rugby Football Union, and to this end will give the said union all information bearing on the subject of the said projected tour to England.

---

<sup>386</sup> Source: *Evening Post*: 22 May 1907, p 7, c 1, *New Zealand Herald*: 22 May 1907, p 7, c.3; 28 May 1907, p.6, c.2.



## APPENDIX C.

### Correspondence Relating to Baskiville and the NZRU.

#### 1. Correspondence between the NZRU and Albert Baskiville:<sup>387</sup>

25th May, 1907  
Mr. A.H. Baskiville,  
Care Post and Telegraph Stores,  
Wellington.

Dear Sir,— This union has reason to believe that you have information upon the proposed tour of professional footballers to England, and by instruction I hereby summon you to meet the management committee of the union in my office at Brown's Buildings, Johnson-street, on Monday next, 27th inst., at 8pm. —Yours faithfully,

J.D. Avery,  
Secretary.

The answer received to the foregoing was as follows:

Kelbourne Parade,  
Wellington, 27th May, 1907.

The Secretary  
NZ Rugby Union:

Sir,— Your union will no doubt gain all the information that I have regarding the proposed tour of "All Black" professional footballers to England from the daily papers in the course of a few weeks. Until then, I am bound not to divulge it. As I severed my connection with the Oriental Football Club in the 25th inst., and am also leaving the Postal Department, be good enough in future to post all communications to me at the above address. —I have, etc.,.

A.H. Baskiville,  
Hon. Secretary NZ Rugby Football Club.

After the above correspondence had been read and discussed the committee passed the following resolution:

That A.H. Baskiville be dealt with under rule 2, subsection (1), clause (I), under the rules as to professionalism, and that all unions be asked to prevent him from entering football grounds under their control.

---

<sup>387</sup> Source: *Evening Post*: 28 May 1907, p.5, c.2.

The clause in the rules referred to includes among acts of professionalism the following:

Any individual refusing to give evidence or otherwise assisting in carrying out these rules when requested by the union to do so.

2. The Petone Borough council received the following letter from Mr. Baskiville.<sup>388</sup>

I respectfully wish to draw your attention to the enclosed clipping, the leading article from the Wairarapa Daily News, dated the 12th inst. It reflects the opinion of many people other than Wairarapa readers. Not because I shall ever want to visit the Petone Recreation Ground, but on the point of principle, I am going to have the matter mentioned threshed out, or at least several gentlemen interested intend to see it out on my behalf. For that purpose be good enough to forward to me (1) the exact wording of your by-law which authorises the delegation of powers to any person or organization to refuse me admission to, or eject me from, reserves under your control; (2) the exact wording of the motion or amendment carried at your meeting which conferred upon the Wellington Rugby Union the power to take this action; and (3) your particular definition of the word 'objectionable' as applied indirectly to me in the wording of that motion or amendment. I ask for (2) as the two local daily newspapers reported it differently, and for (3) because 'objectionable' covers a multitude of sins. I hold that my action in refusing to wait on the NZR Union and inform on members of the NZ Rugby Football Club, and for being suspended for this (not for being a professional or the reputed organizer of the above club), does not come under the heading of 'objectionable'.

---

<sup>388</sup>

Source: *Evening Post*: 25 June 1907, p 2, c 6

## APPENDIX D.

### 1: Biographical Data on All Golds.<sup>389</sup>

#### The New Zealand Rugby Football Team:

##### **Manager**

Harry John Palmer, of Wellington.

##### **Fullbacks**

Harold Francis Rowe, 24. Newton club, Auckland. 5'9", 12st 2lb.  
Accountant.

Hubert Sydney Turtill, 27. Albion club, Canterbury. 5'9", 11st 5lb.  
Decorative metal worker.

##### **Three-quarters**

Duncan McGregor, 25. Christchurch club. 5'9", 11st 4lb.  
Railway employee.

George William Smith, 35. (vice-captain). City club, Auckland. 5'7", 12st 2lb.  
Club steward.

Joseph Aloysius Lavery, 27. Albion club, Canterbury. 5'11", 13st.  
Railway employee.

Edgar Wrigley, 20. Red Star club, Wairarapa. 5'9", 13st 7lb.  
Plumber.

Herbert Henry Messenger, 24. Eastern Suburbs club, Sydney. 5'8", 12st.  
Launch proprietor and boat builder.

John Richard Wynyard, 22. North Shore club, Auckland. 5'8", 11st 10lb.  
Clerk.

William Thomas Wynyard, 25. North Shore club, Auckland. 5'9", 11st 3lb.  
Clerk.

Lancelot Beaumont Todd, 24. Parnell club, Auckland. 5'7", 10st.  
Tailor.

##### **Halfbacks**

William Thomas Tyler, 26. City club, Auckland. 5'8", 13st 4lb.  
Boilermaker.

James Gleeson, 24 (Treasurer). Napier. 5'9", 12st.

---

<sup>389</sup> Source: *Athletic News*: 7 October 1907.

Student, Sydney University.

Edward Tyne, 30. Petone club, Wellington. 5'10", 12st 6lb.

Railway employee.

Arthur Frederick Kelly, 20. Petone club, Wellington. 5'6", 10st 5lb.

Railway mechanic.

### **Forwards**

William Macvay Trevarthen, 26. Newton club, Auckland. 5'10", 13st.

Clerk.

Hercules Richard Wright, 23 (Captain). Petone club, Wellington. 5'11", 13st 8lb.

Printer.

William Johnston, 25. Alhambra club, Otago. 6'1", 13st 8lb.

Ironworker.

Thomas William Cross, 29. Petone club, Wellington. 6', 14st 7lb.

Labourer.

Adam Lile, 21. Oriental club, Wellington. 5'11", 14st.

Soldier.

Charles Pearce, 25. Albion club, Canterbury. 5'10", 14st 5lb.

Butcher.

Daniel George Fraser, 25. Petone club, Wellington. 5'10", 12st 6lb.

Gentleman.

William Henry Mackrell, 25. City club, Auckland. 5'11", 13st.

Printer.

Conrad Byrne, 23. Petone club, Wellington. 5'11", 14st 4lb.

Farmer.

Daniel Gilchrist, 23. Melrose club, Wellington. 5'11", 13st 3lb.

Plumber.

Eric Leslie Watkins, 25. Old Boys club, Wellington. 5'10", 13st 5lb.

Surveyor.

Charles Dunning, 28. Ponsonby club, Auckland. 5'11", 12st 8lb.

Builder.

Arthur Callum, 29. Ponoke club, Wellington. 5'9", 12st 6lb.

Insurance agent.

Albert Henry Baskerville, 24 (Secretary). Oriental club, Wellington. 5'10", 11st 12lb.

Civil Service. [Post Office Clerk].

## 2: Biographical Data on All Blacks.<sup>390</sup>

(\* =became 1907 All Gold; + =switched to league after All Golds' tour)

### 2:1. 1905 All Blacks:

#### **Manager**

G.H. Dixon, 45. (Wellington)

Auckland RFU secretary 1887-1900; life member 1911. NZRFU management committee 1901-10, 13-18; chairman 1904-10, 15-18; president 1911, 12.

An accountant then manager of newspapers *NZ Observer* and *NZ Times*; founder of *NZ Free Lance*

#### **Coach**

James Duncan, 35. (Otago)

Saddler.

#### **Players** (Alphabetically listed)

Harold Louis 'Bunny' Abbott, 23. (Taranaki) 5' 10½", 13st. wing three-quarter.

Blacksmith. (Professional sprinter)

Ernest Edward 'General' Booth, 29. (Otago) 5' 7½", 11st 10lb. full-back and three-quarter.

Newspaper correspondent on 1908-09 Australian touring team to Britain.

Stephen Timothy Casey, 22. (Otago) front-row forward (hooker).

Storeman.

John Corbett, 25? (West Coast) forward.

Baker.

William Cunningham, 31. (Auckland) 5' 11", 14st 6lb. lock forward.

Blacksmith, later employed with Auckland Harbour Board and Farmers' Freezing Co.

Robert George Deans, 21. (Canterbury) 6', 13st 4lb, centre three-quarter.

Farmer.

David Gallaher, 31. (Captain) (Auckland) 6', 13st. wing and front-row forward.

Foreman at Auckland Farmers' Freezing Works.

+ George Arthur Gillett, 28. (Canterbury) 6', 13 st. wing forward and full-back.

Employed with the Tramways and railway, later publican of a Hamilton hotel.

Transferred to League 1911. Became full-time organizer of code in NI, establishing league in Wellington and Thames. Later reinstated to RU.

Francis Turnbull Glasgow, 25. (Taranaki) 5' 10", 13st 3lb. Side or back-row forward.

Bank manager.

<sup>390</sup>

Source: Chester & McMillan, *The Encyclopedia of NZ Rugby*, 1981

William Spiers Glenn, 28. (Taranaki) 5' 11", 12st 12lb. Side and back-row forward.  
Entered Parliament 1919. Prominent racehorse breeder and owner; steward and trustee of the Wanganui Jockey club.

Eric Tristram Harper, 27. (Canterbury) 5' 11", 12½ st. three-quarter.  
Solicitor.

James Hunter, 26. (Taranaki) 5' 6", 11st 8lb. five-eighth.  
Farmer.

\* William 'Massa' Johnston, 23. (Otago) 6', 13½ st. side-row forward.  
Went with All Golds. Joined Wigan in 1908.  
Later was commissionaire at Royal Sydney Ag. Showground. (other list = ironworker)

Alexander McDonald, 22. (Otago) 5' 10", 13 st. loose forward.  
Brewery worker.

\* Duncan McGregor, 24.? (Wellington) 5' 9", 11st 3lb. wing three-quarter.  
Went with All Golds. Remained in England, returned to NZ 1913, became referee and national selector. (other list = railway employee)

\* William Henry Clifton Mackrell, 24.? (Auckland) 5' 10", 12½ st. front-row forward.  
Went with All Golds. NZ rep: 1911  
Printer.

Harry Jonas 'Simon' Mynott, 29. (Taranaki) five-eighth.  
Tinsmith.

Frederick 'Fatty' Newton, 24. (Canterbury) 6', 15 st. forward.  
Fitter with NZ Railways.

George William Nicholson, 27. (Auckland) 6' 3", 13st 10lb. loose forward.  
Bootmaker.

James Michael O'Sullivan, 22. (Taranaki) 5' 10", 13½ st loose forward.  
Farmer.

Frederick Roberts, 24. (Wellington) 5' 7", 12st 4lb. half-back.  
Clerk for Wellington Harbour Board.

+Charles Edward 'Tiger' or 'Bronco' Seeling, 22. (Auckland) 6', 13½ st. loose forward.  
Switched to league and joined Wigan 1910.  
Licensee of Roebuck Hotel in Wigan.

\* George William Smith, 30.? (Auckland) 5' 7", 11st 12lb. three-quarter.  
Went with All Golds. Stayed in England.  
Employed by the meat processors R & W Hellaby and later by the Auckland Amateur Sports club. In England worked in the textile industry. (other list = club steward)

John William Stead, 27. (Southland) five-eighth.  
Bootmaker by trade. Football columnist for NZ Truth for few years.

Hector Douglas 'Mona' Thomson, 24. (Wanganui) 5' 8", 10st 9lb wing three-quarter.  
Civil servant, retired as under-secretary in Immigration Dept.

George Alfred 'Bubs' Tyler, 26. (Auckland) 5' 10", 13st. front-row forward.  
Apprenticed as boatbuilder, became dockmaster with Auckland Harbour Board 1910.

William Joseph 'Carbine' Wallace, 27. (Wellington) 5' 8", 12st. fullback and three-quarter.  
A purse of 400 sovereigns presented to him 1908 assisted him establish his own iron foundry.

#### **Backs:**

G.A. Gillett (Canterbury); W.J. Wallace (Wellington); H.L. Abbott (Taranaki); E.E. Booth (Otago); R.G. Deans (Canterbury); E.T. Harper (Canterbury); D. McGregor (Wellington); G.W. Smith (Auckland); H.D. Thomson (Wanganui); J. Hunter (Taranaki); H.J. Mynott (Taranaki); J.W. Stead (Southland); F. Roberts (Wellington).

#### **Forwards:**

S.T. Casey (Otago); J. Corbett (West Coast); W. Cunningham (Auckland); D. Gallaher (Auckland); F.T. Glasgow (Taranaki); W.S. Glenn (Taranaki); W. Johnston (Otago); W.H.C. Mackrell (Auckland); A. McDonald (Otago); F. Newton (Canterbury); G.W. Nicholson (Auckland); J.M. O'Sullivan (Taranaki); C.E. Seeling (Auckland); G.A. Tyler (Auckland).

Captain: D. Gallaher.

2:2. Selected and could not tour, or unlucky to have missed selection for 1905 team:

Joseph John Calnan, 29. (Wellington) 12st 5lb forward. NZ rep: 1897.  
Omitted from 1905-06 touring party after being named in original 53 under consideration.  
Retired 1932 as custodian of Te Aro baths after 40 years service with the Wellington City Corporation.

\* Thomas 'Angry' Cross, 29.? (Wellington) 14st 5lb. side-row forward. NZ rep: 1901, 04, 05.  
Omission from 1905 team surprise. Went with All Golds.  
Employed at Gear meat works. (other list = labourer)

Patrick 'Peter' Harvey, 25. (Canterbury) half-back. NZ rep: 1904.  
Named in touring party but unable to get leave from his job as lip-reading teacher at Sumner School for the Deaf. Matter taken to Government and Premier Seddon announced in HOREps that he could not be spared as only teacher in country.

William Edward 'Scobie' Hay-MacKenzie, 31. (Auckland) fullback. NZ rep: 1901.  
Unlucky not to be chosen for touring team - only member of NI team to miss selection.  
Employed with NZ Railways, when he retired in 1931 was chief clerk in Engineers branch.

James Duncan King, 27. (Otago) halfback. (never played for NZ)  
chosen for ABs but could not accept.  
A carter.

### 2:3. Other All Blacks who turned to league before 1915:<sup>391</sup>

Albert Arapeha 'Opai' Asher, 29. (Auckland) 5' 6". wing three-quarter. NZ rep: 1903.  
Turned to league 1908, NZ rep: 1910, 13.  
Groundsman at Carlaw Park 1921-43.

Samuel Bligh, 26. (Buller) NZ rep: 1910. front row forward.  
Turned to league 1913 (Blackball club 1915-21).

David Alexander Evans, 25. (Hawke's Bay) 13 st. Lock forward. NZ rep: 1910.  
Turned to league 1911, NZ rep: 1911, 12.  
Chainman in a freezing works.

Arthur Reginald Howe 'Bolla' Francis, 29. (Auckland) 6' 3". Back and side-row forward. NZ rep: 1905, 07, 08, 10.  
Unlucky to miss selection for 1905 ABs  
Transferred to league (Newton Rangers) 1911. NZ rep: 1911, 12 captain. Then played for Wigan and Hull.  
Later reinstated to RU.  
Employed by North Shore Bus Co. as an engineer.

Donald Cameron Hamilton, 26. (Southland) wing-forward. NZ rep: 1908.  
Participated in exhibition match of League 1909 while Pirates and Britannia clubs under suspension by Sthland RFU. Declared professional and rugby career at an end. Played cricket for Southland, nominated for NZ 1914.  
Chemist.

William Robert Hardcastle, 34. (Wellington) forward. NZ rep: 1897.  
Returned to Sydney to live. Played for Glebe, represented Australia. Switched to league and represented Aust in 1908 and on 1908-09 tour to England.  
forward.  
A miner and later a labourer.

Harold Owen 'Circus' Hayward, 28. (Auckland) side-row forward. NZ rep: 1908.  
Turned to League 1911, NZ rep: 1912, 13. when captain in the latter year.  
Reinstated to RU after WW1.  
Commercial fisherman.  
His brother Morgan NZ rep league 1912, 13 then RU.

John Hogan, 32.? (Wanganui) forward. NZ rep: 1907.  
Turned to league. NZ rep: 1913.  
labourer.

Edward Hughes, 28. (Southland) 12st. front-row forward. NZ rep: 1907, 08, 21.  
Declared professional for participating in same rugby league exhibition match Don Hamilton banned by Sthland RFU. NZ rep: 1910 member of team.  
Reinstated to RU after WW1.

---

<sup>391</sup> Player's ages when turned to league.



a cooper by trade.

Karl Donald Ifwersen, 20. (Auckland) 5' 10", 12 st. second five-eighth. NZ rep: 1921.  
Switched to league, NZ rep: 1913, 14, 19, 20.  
Reinstated to RU beginning 1921 season.  
commercial traveller.

Alwin John 'Dougie' McGregor, 26. (Auckland) wing three-quarter. NZ rep: 1913.  
Turned to league 1915, NZ rep: 1919, 20.  
a joiner.

William James Mitchell, 21. (Canterbury) 13 st. wing three-quarter. NZ rep: 1910.  
Joined league 1911, NZ rep: 1913, captain 1919 team, 20.  
Addington railway workshops, with P & D Duncan, then a taxi driver and finally worked in a fruit shop.

Harold Garwood 'Doc' Nicholls, B: 19 November 1897. (Wellington) five-eighth and centre three-quarter. NZ rep: 1923.  
Played league until reinstated to RU in 1922.  
tally clerk.

George Spencer, 30. (Wellington) 12st. fullback. NZ rep: 1907  
Turned to league, NZ rep: 1908, 09.  
carpenter.

John Clarence Spencer, 28. (Wellington) side-row forward. NZ rep: 1903, 05, 07.  
Turned to league 1908, NZ rep: 1909.  
later reinstated to RU.  
plumber.

\* Hubert Sydney 'Jum' Turtill, 27. (Canterbury) fullback. NZ rep: 1905.  
Went with All Golds. Signed with St. Helens and played league there 1909-14.  
Employed by hardware merchants A & T Burt Ltd, and publican of the Lord Nelson Hotel in St. Helens. (other list = decorative metal worker)

\* Eric Leslie Watkins, 27.? (Wellington) front-row forward. NZ rep: 1905.  
Went with All Golds.  
a contractor and a labourer. (other list = Surveyor)

\* Edgar Wrigley, 21. (Wairarapa) second five-eighth. NZ rep: 1905.  
Went with All Golds. Signed with Huddersfield 1908. Later played for Hunslet and coached Bradford Northern and Hull. (other list = plumber)

## APPENDIX E.

### Touring Conditions and the Agreement signed by the players.<sup>392</sup>

Agreement made this 24th day of August, in the year one thousand nine hundred and seven, whereby George William Smith, Charles Dunning, William Thomas Wynyard, William Thos. Tyler, James Gleeson, Albert Henry Baskerville, Charles Pearce, John Palmer, John Richard Wynyard, Arthur Callum, Arthur Frederick Kelly, Duncan McGregor, William Johnston, Edgar Wrigley, Eric Leslie Watkins, Hercules Richard Wright, Hubert Sydney Turtill, Conrad Byrne, Joseph Aloysius Lavery, Harold Francis Rowe, William Henry Mackrell, William Macvay Trevarthen, Thomas William Cross, Daniel George Fraser, Adam Lile, Edward Tyne, Daniel Gilchrist, Lancelot Beaumont Todd, all of the colony of New Zealand, and Herbert Henry Messenger, of the State of New South Wales, mutually covenant and agree with each other as follows:

1. The said parties hereto shall form themselves into and be constituted as from the date hereof a combination known as the 'New Zealand All Black Rugby Football Team'.
2. The objects of the said combination or team shall be to play, engage, and take part in football matches against professional Rugby football teams or other teams affiliated to the English Rugby Union, in the British Isles, during a tour through the British Isles, or such other countries or places as the management committee hereinafter maintained may deem fit to substitute in lieu of or in addition to the British Isles.
3. The affairs of the combination shall be managed by a committee of management (hereinafter called the Management Committee) consisting of the following persons: James Collins Gleeson, Harry John Palmer, Albert Henry Baskerville, William Johnston, Lancelot Beaumont Todd, Hercules Richard Wright, and Duncan McGregor, all of New Zealand, who shall have the sole and absolute government of the said combination and all business transactions in connection with same or the tour of the said combination.
4. Each member of the said combination shall pay into the fund of the said combination, to meet the initial expenses of the said tour, the sum of fifty pounds, provided that any member may subscribe a less sum than the said sum of fifty pounds on condition that he shall pay interest as hereinafter provided upon the deficiency between the amount so subscribed and the sum of fifty pounds.
5. Each member of the combination shall diligently and faithfully devote his exclusive services for the purposes and objects of the combination for the said tour, commencing in Sydney on or about the 24th day of August, and extending over a professional football tour through the British Isles, terminating at the end of the ensuing football season in the said British Isles.
6. Each of the parties hereto agrees to play football matches for the said combination during the said tour in all things according to the best of his ability, skill, and judgement at such times and in such places as the said Management Committee may designate during the said

---

<sup>392</sup>

Source: A.H Baskville, "Touring Conditions", in *The Dominion*. 10 October 1907, p 5, c 1-3

tour, and to conform to and accept as binding all rules, regulations, orders, and decisions, directions, commands, and judgements of the said Management Committee.

7. Each of the said parties hereto agrees to faithfully, diligently, and loyally obey the orders, directions, instructions, and commands of the said Management Committee, or any person or persons such Management Committee may appoint, with regard to the duties each member of the combination will be required to perform, whether on or off the football field, appertaining to or respecting the regulations of the said tour.

8. Each member of the said combination hereby agrees to conduct and demean himself in all respects in a respectable and proper manner at all times, and agrees to uphold the dignity and reputation of the said combination by respectability, sobriety, honesty, and uprightness, and by the payment of his just debts during the continuance of his agreement.

9. Each member of the team agrees to attend all meetings for the purpose of training and preparing for matches and all practice and other matches authorized or appointed by the said Management Committee or any person or persons the said Management Committee may appoint except when a member of the said combination is incapacitated from so doing by sickness or injury, in which case the said member must produce, it called upon, a medical certificate showing his inability to attend such meetings or play in such matches and it shall be at the option of the Management Committee or their representative to send a doctor to such member, and a report of such doctor shall be final.

10. If at any time during the continuance of this agreement the conduct of any member of the combination shall be in the opinion of the said Management Committee be such as to render him unworthy, undesirable, or unfit to remain a member of the said combination, of which matters the said Management Committee shall be the sole and absolute judges, such member shall be liable to expulsion from the combination, and shall forfeit all moneys payable to him out of the funds of the said combination and all his rights and privileges under this agreement, and shall have no claim or demand whatsoever against the said combination in respect of such moneys or in respect of any other cause, matter or thing whatsoever, and such moneys so forfeited shall be the absolute property of the said combination.

11. If any member of the said combination shall refuse to obey the commands, orders or directions of the said Management Committee, or any other person or persons the Management Committee may appoint, or misconduct himself in any manner, whether on or off the football field, of which misconduct the said Management Committee shall be the sole and absolute judges, and in case such Management Committee shall deem his misconduct of not so aggravated a character as to warrant this expulsion from the team be liable to a fine not exceeding ten pounds. And we and each of us expressly authorise and empower the said Management Committee to impose such fine or make such expulsion referred to in clause 10 hereof as aforesaid.

12. The inability of any member to attend to his duties in connection with the said tour or to play in any such/ football matches, or to appear at such training meetings, whether arising from illness or any other cause, must be communicated at once to the Management Committee by such member by notice in writing, and in the case of illness such notice shall truly state the nature of such illness, and if in the opinion of the said Management Committee they shall deem it so advisable, the medical and surgical fees or other fees and expenses in

connection with the illness of such member may be paid out of the funds of the said combination.

13. Each member who faithfully carries out all the covenants and agreements herein on his part contained shall be entitled to receive the sum or allowance of one pound per week out of the funds of the said combination, such payment to be computed from the date of the arrival of the said combination in the British Isles, and be paid within one week after arrival of the said combination in the British Isles.

14. Each member who faithfully performs the agreement herein on his part contained shall be entitled to receive and be paid out of the funds of the said combination all usual travelling and hotel expenses, and the said combination shall find and provide all football uniforms and other usual expenses incurred in the conduct of a football tour.

15. If in the opinion of the said Management Committee the financial position of the funds of the said combination so warrants it the said Management Committee may upon receipt of a requisition from any member in their discretion advance such member any sum not exceeding the sum of five pounds, which sum shall be a debt to the combination until the liquidation of such debt, and may be deducted from any moneys other than the said weekly allowance of one pound to which such member shall become entitled to receive from the funds of the combination.

16. Subject to clause eighteen hereof should any member of the combination be desirous of obtaining an advance from the funds of the combination to forward to his family or relatives it shall be in the discretion of the Management Committee on application to them by such member to pay to him a bank draft drawn on any bank in New Zealand, or the Bank of New South Wales for such amount as the Management Committee in their discretion shall decide to advance such member, and such advance shall be a debt from such member to which such member shall become entitled to receive from the funds of the combination shall be debited and chargeable with such advance.

17. The said Management Committee shall have full control over all moneys received in connection with the tour of the said team and have full power in their discretion to invest some wither on deposit at interest or on current account in any bank in Great Britain or Ireland or in any other manner they may deem advisable.

18. No money other than those mentioned in clauses fourteen and fifteen shall be advanced to any member of the combination unless and until the reserve fund hereinafter mentioned of the said combination shall reach in the aggregate the amount of the moneys paid into the funds of the said combination by the members thereof together with the amount necessary to provide and procure at the least a third class return ticket from where this agreement shall end to the nearest port in the Colony of New Zealand, or State of New South Wales, for each member of the combination.

19. The said Management Committee shall after deducting thereout all incidental expenses and outgoings and moneys paid to the said members of the combination by way of allowance for travelling and other expenses of the said tour pay all moneys received by them in connection with the said tour in and towards the establishment of a reserve fund to repay the members of the said combination all moneys advanced by them to the combination and to

secure the purchase and provision of at least a third-class return ticket or passage for each member of the combination from the place where this agreement shall end to the nearest Port in the Colony of New Zealand or State of New South Wales.

20. The said tour of the said combination shall terminate at the close of the ensuing football season in Great Britain and Ireland.

21. Such Management Committee shall keep or cause to be kept proper books of account showing all transactions in connection with the tour of the said combination, and all receipts and disbursements in connection therewith, and each member of the combination shall have the right of access to and inspection of the said books at all reasonable times.

22. All promissory notes, bills of exchange, cheques and drafts shall be drawn by the manager and countersigned by the secretary and treasurer appointed as hereinafter mentioned.

23. On the determination of the said tour the assets of the said combination shall be realised and applied first in payment of the debts and liabilities of the combination, secondly in paying to the members of the combination the respective amounts advanced by them to the funds of the combination, and, in estimating the amount to be paid, all such respective sums so advanced by the respective members to the combination all members who have advanced less than fifty pounds shall be charged interest at the rate of twenty per cent per annum on the deficiency between the amount advanced by them respectively, and the sum of fifty pounds which said interest shall be placed to the credit of the said combination and the surplus, if any, of the funds of the said combination shall then be divided between the members of the combination or their representatives in equal shares.

24. Should any member or members of the said management committee at any time or times die or desire to be discharged from or become unfit or incapable to act as a member of such Management Committee, the remaining members of the said Management Committee may appoint from among the members of the said combination a member or members to take the place of the member or members of the said Management Committee so dying or desiring to be discharged or becoming unfit or incapable to act as aforesaid and such members so appointed shall have the same powers, authorities, and discretions, and shall in all respects act as if he or they had been originally a member or members of the said Management Committee.

25. The said Management Committee shall appoint from among their number a manager of the said team and secretary and treasurer of the combination.

26. Should any member of the said combination be dissatisfied with any directions, orders or decisions given by the said manager, secretary or treasurer, then such member shall have the right to appeal to the Management Committee, and its decision shall be final and conclusive, and not subject to any appeal at law or in equity.

27. Any four members of the said Management Committee shall form a quorum, and at all meetings of the said Management Committee the manager shall be the chairman, and in his absence from any meeting such member of the said Management Committee as the members

of the said Management Committee at any such meeting shall appoint. In all matters of difference the chairman shall have a casting vote.

28. It is agreed between the parties hereto that all conditions, stipulations, and agreements contained in this agreement shall be observable and /duly observed in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and in the colony of New Zealand, or such other countries or places hereinbefore mentioned, and subject to the laws of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the colony of New Zealand, or such other countries or places without further contract, agreement, or special clause, should such appear to be necessitated by any special procedure or enactment of the United kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the colony of New Zealand, or such other countries or places precisely as if this agreement had been made and executed in and within the jurisdiction of any one of such countries of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the colony of New Zealand, or such other countries or places, or in the identical country, state or places in which any dispute as to this agreement may arise.

29. And lastly, it is hereby agreed and declared by and between the parties hereto that nothing herein contained shall be held or construed to form or be a partnership between them, In witness whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands the day and year first above written.

## APPENDIX F.

Summary of Matches.<sup>393</sup>

England Date		Team		Points for against
	1907			
Oct.	9	v Bramley	W	25 6
	12	v Huddersfield	W	19 8
	16	v Widnes	W	26 11
	19	v Broughton Rangers	W	20 14
	23	v Wakefield Trinity	D	5 5
	26	v Leeds	W	8 2
	30	v St. Helens	W	24 5
Nov.	2	v Merthyr Tydvil	W	27 9
	5	v Keighley	W	9 7
	8	v Wigan	L	8 12
	11	v Barrow	L	3 6
	16	v Hull	W	18 13
	20	v Leigh	L	9 15
	23	v Oldham	L	7 8
	27	v Runcorn	L	0 9
	30	v Dewsbury & Batley	W	18 8
Dec.	4	v Swinton	W	11 2
	7	v Rochdale Hornets	W	19 0
	10	v Bradford	L	2 7
	14	v Halifax	L	4 9
	18	v Yorkshire	W	23 4
	21	v Warrington	L	7 8
	23	v Hunslet	D	11 11
	28	v Salford	W.	9 2
	1908			
Jan.	1	v Wales	L	8 9
	4	v Hull Kingston Rovers	W	6 3
	9	v Cumberland	L	9 21
	11	v England	L	16 18
	18	v Lancashire	L	4 20
	25	v Northern Union (1)	L	6 14
	29	v York	L	3 5
Feb.	1	v Ebbw Vale	W	3 2
	8	v Northern Union (2)	W	18 6
	15	v Northern Union (3)	W	8 5
	22	v St. Helens	W	21 10

<sup>393</sup> Source: *Dominion*: 1 April 1908, p. 4, c. 2; 9 June 1908, p. 8, c. 3, *NZH*: 15 February 1908, p. 10, c. 1.

England & Wales		Won	Drawn	Lost	Total
	Tests	2	0	1	3
	Other Internationals	2	2		
	County fixtures	2	3		
	Club games	9	27		
	Totals:	19	2	14	35

1907						
Sept.	13	v.	Ceylon	W	33	6

Australia					Points	
Date			Team		for	against
1908						
Apr.	22	v.	Newcastle	W	53	6
	25	v.	Newcastle	W	34	8
May	2	v.	NSW	L	10	18
	6	v.	NSW	L	10	13
	9	v.	Australia	W	11	10
	16	v.	Queensland	W	32	12
	20	v.	Queensland	W	43	10
	23	v.	Queensland	D	12	12
	30	v.	Australia	W	24	12
Jun.	6	v.	Australia	L	9	14

Australia		Won	Drawn	Lost	Total
	Tests	2	0	1	3
	State fixtures	2	1	2	5
	Others	2	0	0	2
	Totals	6	1	3	10



## APPENDIX G.

FINANCIAL REPORT.<sup>394</sup>

RECEIPTS.			
	£	s	d
Gate receipts:			
Sydney	427	11	1
Ceylon	50	0	0
England & Wales	8838	2	4
Acrobat	4	0	0
Fines from members	32	0	0
Interest on unpaid contributions			
to capital account	114	0	0
Bank interest, less charges	27	16	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£9493	10	3
EXPENDITURE.			
	£	s	d
Ocean travelling	1125	4	7
Railway travelling	429	3	0
Hotel expenses	1371	14	0
Gratuities	63	9	3
Uniforms, gear, etc.	64	2	1
Medical attendance	74	7	1
Organizing expenses	40	0	0
Cables, postage, etc.	36	4	3
Sundry payments	5	17	6
Auditors' fees	4	4	0
Weekly allowance to members	638	0	0
Dividable profit	5641	4	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£9493	10	3

<sup>394</sup> Source: *Evening Post* 14 April 1908, p.3, c. 5

## APPENDIX H.

### Scrummage rulings by the Northern Union Committee. <sup>395</sup>

The following rulings were given, viz:

(1) What is a properly formed scrummage?

Answer: A properly formed scrummage must be so formed as to provide a clear opening or 'tunnel' in which to insert the ball.

The committee do not think it wise to lay down any hard and fast definition as to the exact formation of a scrummage, but rule that packing all the forwards in one row is clearly not in accord with the spirit of the rule.

The Committee are of opinion that the 'loose head' is the root cause of faulty scrummages, and therefore decide that in future the defending side may in all cases claim to be allowed to pack the 'loose head' on the side of the referee. In order to have this ruling carried out, referees are instructed to see that the scrummage is thus formed before permitting the ball to be put in.

This regulation comes into force forthwith.

(2) A half back picking up the ball at rear of the scrummage, and bores his way through his forwards till clear. Is this play legitimate and according to rule?

Answer: Yes.

---

<sup>395</sup> Source: Northern Rugby Football Union minutes, 12 November 1907.

## APPENDIX I.

Baskerville's death was a severe blow. In an interview with a New Zealand journalist, W. Johnson, the Otago forward, paid a very high tribute to the late AH Baskerville.<sup>396</sup>

It is a little difficult to figure him to the public as we knew him. He was a masterful man, with big ideas, and wearing his life out in the routine of a Government billet must have chafed and hurt. A man like that always feels that he must 'do something', and there, in one hit, you have a reason why a professional team ever went to England. . . . Arthur Baskerville was always considered as the exception outside the rule. No one ever thought of questioning what he did or when he came and went. We wondered sometimes at his knack of getting an entree into very exclusive circles in England, and his thirst for information about the many things we saw in England was insatiable. He was an inveterate note-taker, and often when we were in London, members of the team, dropping home along the Strand towards midnight, would happen on 'Baskie', propped up against a lamp-post, taking notes on something or other from a policeman. As a player we did not know his worth until far on in the tour. We had an idea that, since he was doing so much secretarial work, it would be unfair to play him, and it was not until the St. Helens match that he was asked to put on the jersey. In that match he gave a fine exhibition of three-quarter play, and scored two tries. In matters relating to the finance of the team he was untiring, frequently going out to grounds on which we were to play as early as 12 o'clock, so that he might inspect the turnstiles and see that all the little arrangements were perfect. . . . And when it was all over and the boys were on board the boat leaving England, he just seemed like an old man who had lost interest in the past and was looking ahead far into the future. He told us then that he considered the tour a success, and was already looking forward to taking a team to America – that was to be his next achievement if he could manage it.

---

<sup>396</sup> Source: *The Referee* 1 July 1908, p 9, c 5

## APPENDIX J.

Editorial by *The Truth*.<sup>397</sup>

The attitude adopted by the New Zealand Rugby Union, of which Mr G.F.G. Campbell is president, over the death of one of the brightest stars of New Zealand Rugby Football, in the person of Mr A.H. Baskiville, is one of the most cold-blooded, callous and unfeeling treatments that could possibly be meted out to anyone, and, in the case of a man who had rendered yeoman service to the Union and the game generally, this treatment calls for the utmost condemnation from the players,, who are the life blood of the Union, and the supporters who maintain the organization. it is true that the late Mr Baskiville was declared a rebel by the body over which Mr Campbell has the honour to preside, but that fact only aggravates the attitude of the NZRU, as it should at least have been charitable even to a rebel, when death the great leveller of all, intervened. Contrast the attitude of the NZRU in regard to the late Mr Baskiville with that adopted in regard to the late Mr A. Bayly, who was also, in his day, a player. In the latter case, at the annual meeting, the delegates stood in silence as a mark of respect whilst a vote of condolence was conveyed to his widow. In the former case Mr Baskiville's remains arrived in Wellington on the day of the Anglo-Welsh - Wellington match, and no representative of the NZRU, or the WRU, was told off to meet the corpse. It is not suggested that the match should have been postponed, but the Union could have paid a tribute to the deceased by providing bands for the players to wear - a mark of respect which would have been heartily appreciated by the members of the visiting team and the thousands of New Zealanders who attended the match. But no: the autocratic NZRU, with Mr Campbell at its head, would not bury the hatchet, and refrained from even moving a vote of condolence and sympathy with deceased's bereaved mother and family, and their lack of the last courtesy to the dead was endorsed by the WRU. Even at the funeral these two bodies were unrepresented, though to the credit of the Referee's Association, be it said, they were represented by Mr D. Weir. But whilst the Rugby authorities of his native land were guilty of such callous and despicable conduct, the Rugby authorities of neighbouring States were true to their convictions as sportsmen, and paid their last tribute to a man who was opposed to them in his views, the New South Wales and Queensland Rugby Unions sending wreaths to be placed on deceased's last resting place. The attitude of the New Zealand Rugby Union in this matter is a foul blot on the organization, and it is to be hoped that the public of Wellington will show their appreciation of the services rendered to New Zealand football by the late Mr Baskiville on the occasion of the match, to be played on the Athletic Park for the benefit of deceased's mother on June 13th, by attending in thousands. It is a great tribute to the much maligned members of the professional team that not only have they defrayed the expenses of the funeral between them, but were prepared to sacrifice the proceeds of the remaining matches in Australia in order that they might follow the remains of their leader to the grave. But

---

<sup>397</sup> Source: *Truth*. 6 June 1908, p.4, c.5-6.

though the NZRU have carried their spiteful attitude out to the bitter end, the name of Baskiville will live in the memories of New Zealand footballers and enthusiasts long after the names of Campbell and others have ceased to have any meaning. This is not the time for professed Christians to exhibit their spleen against one who, whilst differing from them in their views, had at least the courage of his convictions, and came forth with them in the light of day. Well might the words of the Great Master be applied to the Executive of the New Zealand Rugby Union: "Let he who is without sin cast the first stone." The captain of the 'All Black' professional team, 'Bumper' Wright, in his efforts to render as valuable services as possible to the memory of his deceased colleague, in connection with the match for the benefit of the late Mr Baskiville's mother, went out of his way to approach the Wellington Rugby Union in the matter, but did not meet with the complete success his object deserved. The committee of the WRU could not see its way to postpone its matches on the day of the benefit match, but decided to rearrange the fixtures so that no match of importance should be played on that date, and action which, whilst trivial in itself, will probably cause the WRU to incur the displeasure of the NZRU - as it is open to the interpretation that the WRU are assisting in the propagation of the Northern Union game. Whilst giving credit to the Wellington Rugby union for the small concession granted to one of its old players, its action is in striking contrast to that of the Metropolitan Rugby Union of New South Wales in connection with the New Zealand - New South Wales Northern Union game, and if the New South Wales Rugby Union could be so magnanimous in regard to an organization to which it is bitterly opposed, it would certainly have been an act of grace on the part of the WRU to have adopted a similar attitude when they were asked to do so as an act of charity. The action of the Metropolitan Rugby Union in regard to the much maligned professionals is best described in the words of the NSW president in a letter to the editor of the 'Sydney Morning Herald', which is as follows:

Sir, - After reading several letters, it is perhaps advisable for the supporters of our game to know the facts. The MR Union generously placed the Sydney CG for the two Saturdays in June at the disposal of the NSWFL. Unfortunately for us, the trustees of the SCG could not see their way to agree with their action. The MRU then offered us any ground under their control. The executive of the NSWFL then arranged with the MRU to play the early match on the SCG, the financial and other arrangements being considered highly satisfactory. The NSWFL appreciate the MRU's action, and have no doubt the effort will be to bring about a better understanding between the two bodies. - I am, etc., Albert E. Nash, President, NSW Football League. May 22.

That 'Bumper' Wright was actuated by the best of motives in approaching the WRU is beyond question, but his action was totally unnecessary, as the football-loving public of Wellington will show its sportsmanlike qualities on Saturday next by attending the match for the benefit of the mother of one of its own sons who earned prowess on the football field, fame as a sporting journalist, admiration as an organizer and fighter against fearful odds, and

tributes from the press of England and Australia for his sterling qualities, and who, no matter his status as professional footballer, was a gentleman.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

### PRIMARY SOURCES.

#### OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

New Zealand Official Year Book, 1908, Wellington: Government Printer, 1908.

#### OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

New Zealand Rugby Football Union Management Committee Minutes, 1907.

Northern Rugby Football Union General Committee Minutes, 1907; 1909.

#### BOOKS & ARTICLES.

Baskerville, A. H. "Evolution of the Tour", in *The Dominion*: 9 October 1907, p.6, c.7-8.  
(Specially written for *The Dominion* at Colombo, 11 September 1907).

— "Touring Conditions", in *The Dominion*: 10 October 1907, p.5, c.1-3.

— Modern Rugby Football: New Zealand Methods, London: Gordon & Gotch, 1907.

Coghlan, T.A. A Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand, Sydney: Government Printer, 1904.

Ellison, T. R. The Art of Rugby Football, Wellington: Geddis & Blomfield, 1902.

Fanning, Leo. Players and Slayers, Wellington: Gordon & Gotch, 1910.

#### NEWSPAPERS.

**Australian:** *Sydney Referee*: April 1907 – October 1908.  
*The Bulletin*: April 1907 – October 1908.  
*The Sydney Morning Herald*: April 1907 – October 1908.

**British:** *Athletic News*: 2 January 1905 – 16 October 1911.  
*Manchester Guardian*: 1 October 1907 – 24 February 1908.  
*Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury*: 1 October 1907 – 30 January 1908.  
*Yorkshire Post*: 1 October 1907 – 30 January 1908.

**New Zealand:** *New Zealand Freelance*: August 1907; May 1908.  
*New Zealand Referee*: January 1907 – August 1908.  
*The Dominion*: 26 September 1907 – October 1908.  
*The Evening Post*: April 1907 – October 1908.

*The New Zealand Herald*: April 1907 – October 1908.  
*The Star*: January 1908 – December 1910.  
*The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail*: 6 May 1908 – December 1910.  
*Truth*: April 1907 – October 1908.

## SECONDARY SOURCES.

### **BOOKS.**

- Andrews, Malcolm. The A-Z of Rugby League, Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett Publishers Limited, 1995.
- Arlott, John (ed) The Oxford Companion to Sports and Games, London: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Arnold, A. J. A Game That Would Pay. A Business History of Professional Football in Bradford, London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd, 1988.
- Bennetts, Eric. The Rugby League Annual 1933, Vol. no.1, Auckland: 1933.
- Birley, Sir Derek. Land of Sport & Glory. Sport and British Society, 1887-1910, Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Carman, Arthur H. They Played for New Zealand Vol. 4. A Complete Record of New Zealand Rugby Representatives 1884-1981 and Their Matches, Tawa: Sporting Publications, 1981.
- Cashman, Richard. Paradise of Sport. The Rise of Organized Sport in Australia, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Cashman, Richard & McKernan, Michael. (eds) Sport in History, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1979.
- Chester, R.H. & McMillan, N.A.C. The Encyclopedia of New Zealand Rugby, Auckland: MOA Publications Ltd, 1981.
- The Visitors. The History of International Rugby Teams in New Zealand, Auckland: MOA Publications Ltd, 1990.
- Coffey, John. Canterbury XIII. A Rugby League History, Christchurch, New Zealand: Printpac Print Group, 1987.
- Davidson, W. J. Rugby League 1908-1947, Auckland: Hardcastle & Co. (NZ) Ltd, 1947.
- Rugby League Annual, 1948.
- Delaney, Trevor R. The Roots of Rugby League, Great Britain: Trevor R. Delaney, 1984.
- Dunning, Eric & Sheard, Kenneth. Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players, Wellington: Price Milburn & Co., Ltd, 1979.



- Gate, Robert. Rugby League: An Illustrated History, London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd, 1989.
- Guttmann, Allen. Games and Empires. Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism, New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.
- Haynes, John. From All Blacks to All Golds. New Zealand's Rugby League Pioneers, Christchurch: Ryan and Haynes, 1996.
- Heads, Ian. True Blue. The Story of the NSW Rugby League, Randwick, NSW, Australia: Ironbark Press, 1992.
- Hinchcliff, John (ed) The Nature and Meaning of Sport in New Zealand, Auckland: Centre for Continuing Education, University of Auckland, 1978.
- Hodgkinson, David. Heroes of Rugby League, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1983.
- Holt, Richard. Sport and The British. A Modern History, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Macdonald, Finlay. The Game of Our Lives. The Story of Rugby & New Zealand - and How They've Shaped Each Other, Auckland: Viking Penguin Books NZ, 1996.
- McConnell, Lynn. Something to Crow About. The Centennial History of the Southland Rugby Football Union, Invercargill: Craig Printing Co. Ltd, 1986.
- McKewen, Trevor (ed) The Big Black League Book, Auckland: The Sporting Press Limited, 1992.
- McMillan, Neville. New Zealand Sporting Legends. 27 Pre-War Sporting Heroes, Auckland: Moa Beckett Publishers, 1993.
- Macklin, Keith. The History of Rugby League Football, London: Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd, 1962.
- Mason, Tony. Sport in Britain, London: Faber & Faber Ltd, 1988.
- Moorhouse, Geoffrey. At The George. And Other Essays on Rugby League, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989.
- A People's Game. The Centenary History of Rugby League Football 1895-1995, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1995.
- Nauright, John & Chandler, Timothy J.L. (ed) Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity, London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd, 1996.
- Novitz, David & Willmott, Bill (eds) Culture and Identity in New Zealand, Wellington: GP Books, 1989.
- Palenski, Ron (ed) Between The Posts. A New Zealand Rugby Anthology, Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989.
- Our National Game. A Celebration of 100 Years of NZ Rugby, Auckland: Moa Beckett Publishers Ltd, 1992.

- Pollard, Jack (ed) This is Rugby League, Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1962.
- Ryan, Greg. Forerunners of the All Blacks, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1993.
- Ryan, Warren. The HBJ Sports Skills Series: Rugby League, Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1990.
- Sanders, Dave. Simply The Best. Celebrating 90 Years of New Zealand League, Auckland: Celebrity Books, 1997.
- Sinclair, Keith. A Destiny Apart. New Zealand's Search For A National Identity, Wellington: Allen & Unwin NZ Ltd., 1986.
- Smith, David & Williams, Gareth. Fields of Praise. The Official History of the Welsh Rugby Union 1881-1981, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980.
- Stebbins, Robert A. Amateurs, Professionals, and Serious Leisure, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.
- Swan, A. C. The New Zealand Rugby Football Union (Inc.) 1892-1967, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1967.
- Vamplew, Wray. Pay up & Play the Game. Professional Sport in Britain 1875-1914, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Vamplew, Wray & Stoddart, Brian (ed) Sport in Australia. A Social History, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Whiticker, Alan & Collis, Ian. Rugby League Test Matches in Australia, Sydney: ABC Books, 1994.
- Wigglesworth, Neil. The Evolution of English Sport, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1996.
- Wood, Bernard (ed) Air New Zealand Rugby League Annual, 1977.
- Lion Red Rugby League Annual, 1986, 1990, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96.
- Autex New Zealand Rugby League Annual, 1997.

#### ARTICLES.

- Warren L. Butterworth, "The Place of Rugby in New Zealand", in J. Hinchcliff, The Nature and Meaning of Sport in New Zealand, Auckland, 1978.
- John Coffey, "Rugby Revolt in the Deep South", in Bernard Wood (ed), Lion Red Rugby League Annual, 1990.
- John Coffey, "Milestones in Rugby League's Evolution", in Bernard Wood (ed), Lion Red New Zealand Rugby League Annual, 1995 .
- Chris Cunneen, "The Rugby War: the Early History of Rugby League in New South Wales, 1907-15", in Cashman & McKernan, Sport in History, Queensland, 1979.

- Geoff Fougere, "Sport, Culture and Identity: the Case of Rugby Football", in Novitz & Willmott (eds), Culture and Identity in New Zealand, Wellington, 1989.
- Paul Greenhalgh, "'The Work and Play Principle': The Professional Regulations of the Northern Rugby Football Union, 1898-1905", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (December 1992).
- Peter A. Horton, "Dominant Ideologies and their Role in the Establishment of Rugby Union Football in Victorian Queensland", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (April 1994).
- John Nauright, "Myth and Reality: Reflections on Rugby and New Zealand Historiography", *Sporting Traditions*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (May 1990).
- John Nauright, "Sport, Manhood and Empire: British Responses to the New Zealand Rugby Tour of 1905", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1991).
- Kent Pearson, "Meanings and Motivation in Sport", in J. Hinchcliff, The Nature and Meaning of Sport in New Zealand, Auckland, 1978.
- Murray Phillips, "Rugby", in Vamplew & Stoddart, *Sport in Australia. A Social History*, Cambridge, 1994.
- "Football, Class and War: The Rugby Codes in New South Wales, 1907-1918", in Nauright & Chandler (ed), *Making Men. Rugby and Masculine Identity*, London, 1996.
- Len Richardson, "Rugby, Race and Empire: The 1905 All Black Tour", in *Historical News*, No. 47, December 1983.
- G.T. Vincent, "Practical Imperialism: The Anglo-Welsh Rugby Tour of New Zealand, 1908", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.15, No.1 (April 1998).
- Geoffrey T. Vincent & Toby Harfield, "Repression and Reform. Responses within New Zealand Rugby to the Arrival of the 'Northern Game', 1907-8", *The New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.31. No.2 (October 1997).
- Gareth Williams, "How Amateur Was My Valley: Professional Sport and National Identity in Wales 1890-1914", *The British Journal of Sports History*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (December 1985).

### **c THESES.**

- Vincent, G.T., 'Practical Imperialism'. The Anglo-Welsh Rugby Tour of New Zealand, 1908, M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1996.